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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY,

FROM VOLUME I. TO VOLUME L. INCLUSIVE.

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Read November 15th, 1866.

The very singular, or rather, as regards Italy, the unique bronze relique that I have now undertaken to describe and explain, I consider to be the same that was discovered January 4th, 1800, at the steep pitch of the hill just below the castle of Lucera. This we learn from an account of the discovery given by the Cavaliere Onofrio Bonghi, quoted by Gerhard.[a]

The object in question consists of a disc of copper, perforated in the centre, from the outside edge of which there radiated nine strips of the same metal, fixed on the disc by nails. Of these three only are wide and long, the other six seem to have been short and narrow. The three wide strips are curved over at the ends, and affixed to three rude representations of the human foot and leg up to the knee; through the ancles pass pivots on which wheels revolve. These are six in number, and have only four spokes each. These feet, with their wheels, support the disc, to which are attached eight figures of men and animals composing a scene. The short and narrow strips were added to receive those figures for which there was no room on the disc. To the same purpose also one of the long strips is still applied, which allows us to conjecture that figures of men or animals formerly stood on the other two. Above the legs project goats' heads, each being attached to a quadrangular bronze stem. On either side of this stem are torsed rods, or cords, also of bronze, and leaning outwards. Since these three stems and the six torsed rods have been broken short off, we cannot say what their height may originally have been, nor what their purpose was; nor whether they supported another disc like the one below.[b] It can only be positively affirmed that the relique has no connexion whatever with the class of *cistæ mysticæ*, a point on which Gerhard seems to have entertained doubts.

Although Gerhard's description does not precisely correspond with the present condition of this relique, yet there are such striking points of agreement that we

[a] Bulletin de l'Institut de Correspondance Archéologique. Rome, 1830, p. 15.

[b] The dimensions of this bronze are here given for the convenience of those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the original:—

can hardly doubt it to be the identical one which was formerly in the Bonghi collection. The discrepancy is this, that, whereas we read in the account given by Gerhard that there were fourteen human figures joined by small chains to the bronze found at Lucera, there belong to that now before us fourteen figures in all, including those of both men and animals, two only of which have been attached by little chains, and the rest fixed on the bronze disc. It would seem, too, that another error exists in this account, which states that three of the figures have the arms, as well as the legs, formed like serpents, whereas two such only have been found, making, with six others, eight human figures in all. If to these we add six more of animals, we shall have the number of fourteen, as stated by Gerhard.

He tells us that "the disc, where the figures are, is pierced in the centre, and at three points of its circumference bars are attached with wheels at their ends, surmounted by goats' heads, and through these perforated ends pass the axles on which the wheels revolve." To this description it was only requisite to add, that these bars terminate in the form of a human leg, the heels of which are pierced by the axles; and that above the heads of the goats rise quadrangular rods, on the sides of which two little bronze cords play on pivots. It is, moreover, well worthy of attention that the circumstance, remarked by Gerhard, of one bar only being attached to the disc, was found to be the case with the relique before us

	Inches.
Diameter of wheels, but they slightly vary	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Width of the fellies of wheels	$\frac{3}{10}$
Diameter of disc	6
Height of tallest human figure	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Height of disc from ground	$5\frac{3}{4}$
Height from ground to the fractured tops of torsed rods	10

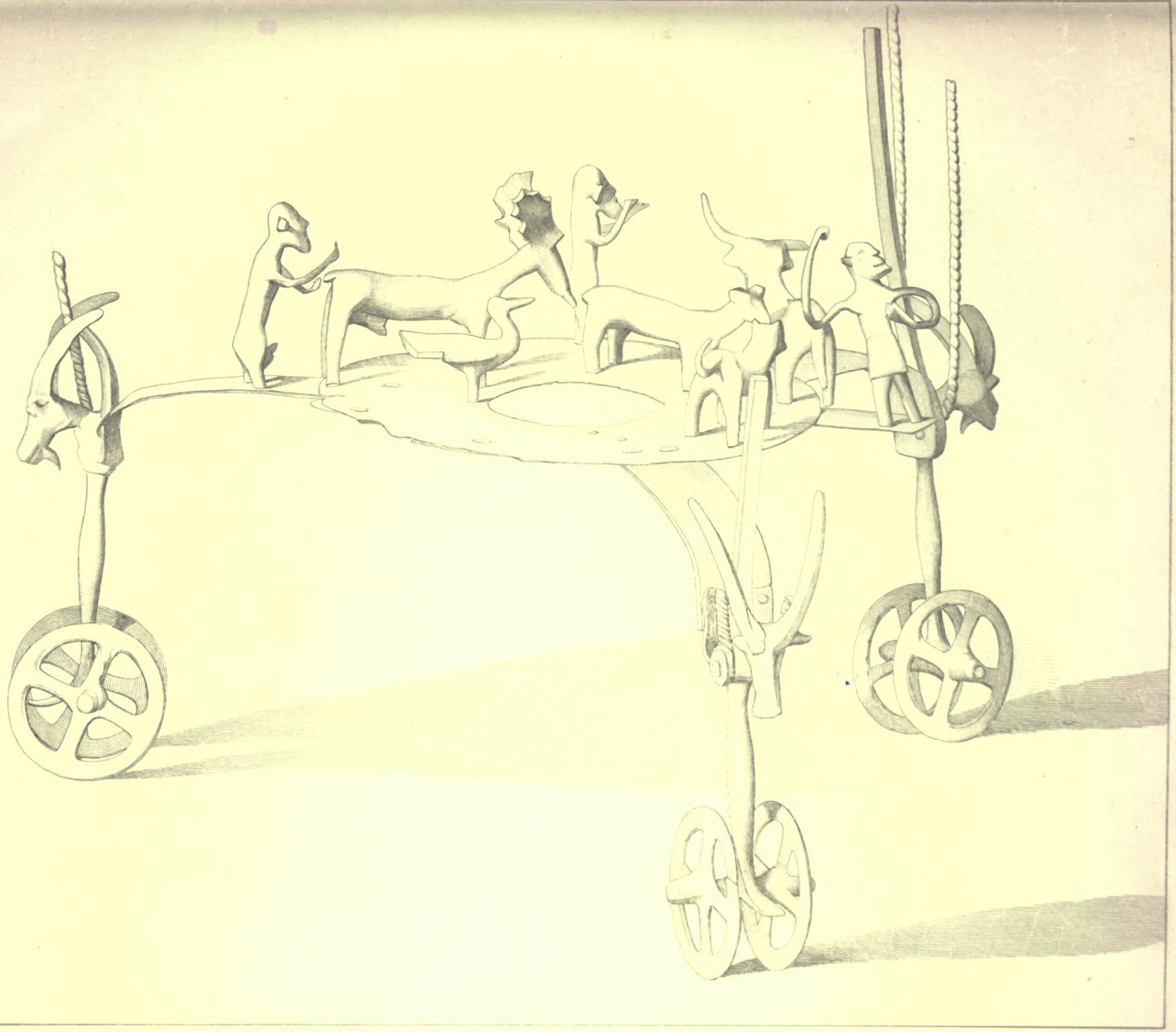
None of the figures have feet, but are stuck into the disc, like pegs.

It is hard to account for the oval aperture in the centre of the disc, unless we can suppose it left to receive a lamp or incense vessel.

Such objects of antiquity are certain to present some inexplicable feature. In the present case the wheels stand in such triangular fashion that they cannot possibly run together. The point of each axle probably stood originally 10 inches distant from that of the next set of wheels.

The whole group stands fairly within a circle of 8 inches radius.

As regards the animals figured in the group, a celebrated palæontologist sees in the bull an unmistakeable representation of the *bos primigenius;* and of the *cervus alces* in the stag. To this it might be added that the caprine heads, which project over the wheels, rather resemble those of the *capra ibex*. If we could venture to consider so rude a work of primitive art a basis sufficiently solid for so interesting an attribution, this relique would become of great importance to Italy. It would show that the *urus*, the elk, and ibex, frequented the forests of the Apennines at the period when this bronze was in the hands of its unskilled artist.—W. M. W.



when it came into our possession. In a later work of Cavaliere Gerhard[a] the designs of nine of the figures from this bronze occur, five of which, included in the preceding enumeration, are now lost, the remaining four being a stag or buck; three nude human figures, including one of two sitting on cords; to which must also be added three, of which he gives some description, and which still exist, namely, an ox, and two animals taken by him for wolves, but which in reality are a dog and a sheep.[b] With so many points of agreement existing I can scarcely see the need of adducing further proofs to show that the object before us is the actual one described by Gerhard. I have only to add, that it was purchased at Naples, where Signor Bonghi lived, and in whose house I formerly saw it. Mr. Wylie, F.S.A. is the present possessor of this rare treasure.

The representation appeared to the learned Gerhard so enigmatical that he deemed it better not to determine its ancient purpose, and for the same reason he abstained from attempting any explanation of the meaning of the composition. Nor would it be my wish to appear more venturous if, at the invitation of my friend Mr. Wylie, I presume to offer a conjecture of my own in a matter so difficult, and so new to me. Accomplished students in such studies will tolerate this mere conjecture. I pretend to no more.

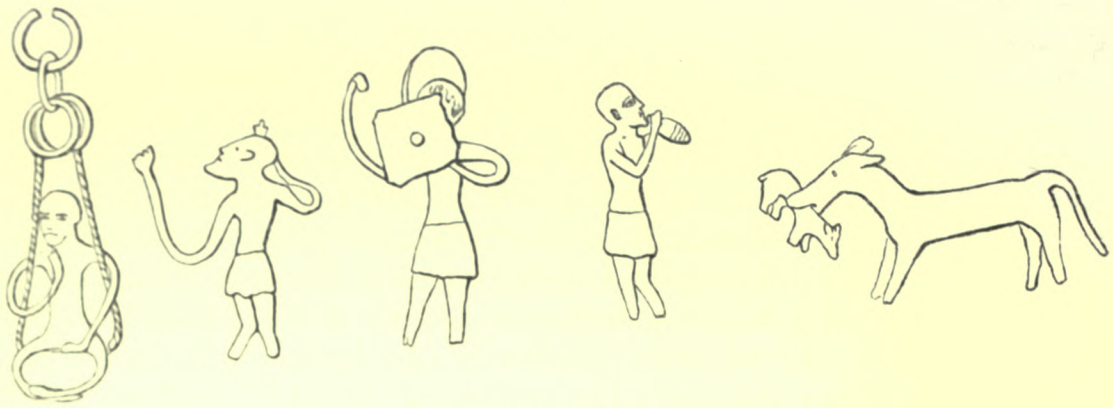
Proceeding to the composition, we will examine the fourteen figures described by Gerhard, of which now nine only remain. (*See Plate XIV., and woodcut page* 280 *post.*) The five figures that are now lost, or missing, we will complete from the designs edited by Gerhard.[c]

It is quite evident, as I observed before, that the number of figures would have required a larger disc, since it had become necessary to make up the want of space by projections from the disc, and to use, for the same purpose, the bronze strips which connect it with its supports. Moreover the presence of the bull, the sheep, the stag, the goose in a certain degree, and especially of the dog which accompanies them, give an undeniable idea of a pastoral scene, and justify the supposition that some more domesticated animals, perhaps of the winged tribe, are wanting. This idea is further strengthened by some holes on the disc, where the figures may have stood.

[a] Etruskische Spiegel, vol. i. pl. xviii.

[b] [Gerhard does not notice the goose, which, together with one human figure partly clothed, complete the series of nine as we have it at present.]

[c] See the wood-cut overleaf, which gives figs. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 12 of Gerhard's plate in Etruskische Spiegel.



In an attempt to explain this representation we think it better to confine our research to a scene either sacred, or rural, relating to pastoral life.

Having arrived thus far, that we may not err in our selection, let us consider the conditions of the human figures that are introduced. Properly speaking, here we cannot recognise shepherds in their pastoral state by any known sign. Instead of this, however, we have indications of personages who belong to a very different condition. The figures divide themselves into two classes, one being altogether nude, the other girt about the loins, but otherwise nude. One of these figures, published by Gerhard (*see woodcut*), is represented blowing the *murex* or *buccinum*, and another, likewise published by him, is represented helmed, and defending himself with a kind of square shield on his left arm, while he is raising his right, which must have brandished some weapon now wanting. The two remaining figures are in very similar attitudes. One of these, partially clad, has lost the implement once raised in his right hand. The other is nude, and must have been sounding some instrument, judging from the hand that approaches the mouth, and the round aperture therein. The cause of this brandishing of weapons by the two armed figures seems in the one case to be the wolf, which we see in the act of seizing a lamb in his mouth and carrying it off.[a] The other figure, with sword and helm, manifestly indicates some more powerful armed enemy coming to carry away the herds. The two figures sounding the instruments seem to have given the alarm.

This scenic representation would not, of its own nature, quit the pastoral class,

[a] By one of the strange freaks which archæological fortune occasionally plays, this missing portion of the group seems to have found its way into the British Museum, where I believe I recognised it among other *disjecta membra* of this collection.—W. M. W.

and might even be compared with similar compositions described by the ancients; but such a supposition would not, I fear, suffice to interpret all its peculiarities.

The fact I first call attention to is that certain of the figures have merely a cloth round the loins, while others are not only entirely nude, but are represented in such fashion as would indicate some meaning quite out of the common way. Now the ancients only ascribed such unusual representations of generative force to the God Inuus, either as Faunus, or Priapus,[a] and, if we would fathom the meaning of the composition, we shall arrive without difficulty at the conviction that this relique is of a sacred character—an offering at the shrine of the God Faunus Lupercus. The whole composition, in fact, receives a wonderful light from this point of view, and the various attendant details find a satisfactory interpretation. Let us show how far this is the case.

The festival of the Luperci, or *Lupercalia*, consisted of a lustral sacrifice to Faunus Lupercus to propitiate him to keep the wolves away from the flocks, of which he was termed protector and keeper. The shepherds, throwing off their dress, and girding round their loins the skins of the immolated victims, after the manner of Pan whom they worshipped,[b] ran about armed with rods,[c] or scourges, or with strips of the skins of goats. This was a pantomime of the god, whose attribute of driving away the wolf they wished to express. Afterwards, in Rome at least, a Lupercal priesthood, in whose charge the festival was placed, was allotted to the shepherds, and the Roman youths ran about girt with skins, flapping with thongs the women, who believed they would thereby become prolific, or obtain an easy delivery.[d] Sacrifices were offered to Faunus Lupercus not merely to stay contagion in the flock, but also that he should render it prolific. Hence is it that the Latins term him Inuus,[f] and that he is compared with the Arcadian Πὰν Λυκαῖος, also called Ἐφιάλτης. His double *rôle*, of protecting the flock and rendering it fruitful, explains itself to me in this pantomime of nude figures, by the representation of the exaggerated generative principle, and the

[a] Livy, lib. i. c. 5. "Lycæum Pana venerantes . . . . . quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum." Arnobius adv. Nat. iii. 23. Hieronym. in Isaiam, lib. v. c. xiii. 21.

[b] Plutarch, Q. R. 68. Justin, xliii. 1, § 7. Val. Max. ii. 2, 9.

[c] Prudentius contr. Symm. ii. 861. Plut. loc. cit. Festus *voce* Creppos. Schol Juvenal. ii. 142. Plut. in Cæs.

[d] Ovid. Fast. ii. 425, v. 102. Minuc. Octav. c. 24.

[e] Rutilius, Itin. lib. i. 235 : "Dum renovat largo mortalia semina fœtu
Fingitur in Venerem pronior esse Deus."

[f] Arnob. adv. Nat. iii. 23. Serv. ad Æneid. vi. 776.

weapons, now missing, which the figure with a skin covering round the loins is supposed to be raising in his right hand, in the act of striking. The other figures girt and nude, although in a different attitude, are not opposed to this interpretation. First, the figure sounding the *buccinum* or *murex*, besides that it may be explained as a person blowing the tuba pastoralis,[a] reminds us of the instrument fabled to have been found by Pan,[b] who is said to have taught its use. Nor is there more difficulty about the helmed figure with the shield, since this may represent Pan, "nemorum bellique potens."[c] For need was that the divinity should not only defend the herd from ravening wolves, but also from the hostile forager.

Lastly, as to the three heads of goats, we know the close relation of these to the divinity, since the goat was offered in sacrifice to him. It is fabled, too, that in the war against Jupiter by Typhon, when the gods fled and transformed themselves, some into one animal, some into another, Pan assumed the form of a goat.[d]

There only remain the nude figures,[e] sitting on the cords, with legs crossed, and in the act of placing the right hand on the mouth, and covering with the left the fore part of the body, where, however, there is no indication of sex. These figures, therefore, seem altogether opposed to the exaggerated forms just described.

This two-fold symbolism of concealing the organs of speech and sex, as expressed in these figures, may be capable of an interpretation in conformity with the character of the most ancient Italic traditions. These prescribe secresy as to the name and nature of the tutelar spirit, the attributes of which, nevertheless, it was the custom to personify. Thus may be explained how at the same time in some of the figures the productive energy and protecting power are represented, while

[a] Varro, R. R. ii. 4 ; iii. 113. Propert. iv. 10, 29, "pastoris buccina lenti."

[b] Hygin. Poet. Astron. c xxviii. *sub voce* Capricornus.

[c] Val. Flacc. Argonaut. iii. 48. Theocrit. Syrinx.

[d] Eratosth. c. xxvii. Schol Arati, p. 39, ed. Oxon. 1672. Hygin. Poet. Astron. *ubi supra.*

[e] The woodcut in the margin represents the sitting figure now detached from the bronze, but still extant. The other, which is now lost, is given in the woodcut on the previous page, from Etruskische Spiegel. These sitting figures were possibly suspended from an upper portion of the relique which no longer exists.

we learn from the mysterious figures seated on the cords in mid-air that silence as to name and sex must be preserved.

Hence it seems to me a highly probable conjecture that the festival of the Luperci is here represented—I mean, not the Latin, but the old Italic Luperci—the pantomime of which scarcely seems to have been fully represented in the festival of Latium.

I conceive the relique, as thus explained, to have been votive; and that at the foot of the hill, where it was found, there must have been a cave sacred to Faunus Lupercus or Pan Lycæus, to whom it had been dedicated by the Italic race that inhabited Lucera.

NOTE.

As translator of Padre Garrucci's paper on the Lucera bronze, I would ask leave to say a few words in explanation of my part in the matter.

It will, perhaps, be remembered by some of the Fellows present that our lamented friend the late Mr. J. M. Kemble read a paper here in December 1855 "On some remarkable Sepulchral Objects from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg"[a]—in fact on these very archaic bronzes, an example of which is now before us. So important did Mr. Kemble deem the subject, that he especially recommended it to the study of the Society of Antiquaries. After Mr. Kemble's decease this paper was republished in his Horæ Ferales by our Director Mr. Franks, and we may infer that it has been rendered better known on the continent in this shape, since Dr. Lindenschmit has lately made public recognition of its value.[b]

Last winter, at Rome, I became possessed of this Lucera bronze through the kind intervention of my friend the Padre Garrucci, and that accomplished scholar added still further to the obligation by, at my request, writing for the Society of Antiquaries the present elegant classical paper. Padre Garrucci has, I think, adduced very satisfactory reasons for considering the bronze relique to have been a votive offering at the shrine of the sylvan and pastoral deity Faunus Lupercus. This probability, too, seems heightened by the fact that the district of Lucera was famous of old for its flocks of sheep and the superior quality of their fleeces.

[a] Archæologia, vol. xxxvi. page 349.

[b] Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, Band ii. Heft 3.

Horace tells us of the

> . . lanæ prope nobilem
> Tonsæ Luceriam,[a]

and Lucera is said still to maintain its reputation in this respect. Among such a shepherd-race we should expect the worship of Pan or Faunus to have prevailed. I only wish my translation had rendered more ample justice to its Italian original.

In the British Museum there exists a cognate bronze object, brought from Italy by Mr. Payne Knight, and supposed by him, perhaps correctly, to have reference to the worship of the venerated goddess Demeter, or Ceres. To this relique Mr. Kemble alludes in his paper, with a manifest leaning to Mr. Payne Knight's conviction. Could he have seen the group now on the table, his views would probably have been still further strengthened. One group appears to throw light on the other, and if in this we may recognise an allusion to some primitive form of Lupercalia, it is not unreasonable to refer the other to the Ambarvalia, or rather to some earlier rite of the goddess of agriculture, on which the Ambarvalia was subsequently founded.[b]

Bronze reliques of this class are exceedingly rare, and, beyond doubt, belong to a very remote antiquity, whether we are to attribute them to the early Greek colonists,[c] or to the aboriginal Italic races. They would not indeed be out of keeping with the taste for imitation and scenic representation evinced by the Oscan people, and which found expression, even in late Roman times, in the popular Fabulæ Atellanæ.[d] Such of these mystic groups as have hitherto occurred in Italy, have all been discovered, I believe, in the southern region which formed the home of the ancient Osci.

I am happy in this opportunity of submitting a matter of such interest to the experience and judgment of the Society, and of endeavouring to further the wishes of my esteemed friend Mr. Kemble.

It may be as well to state, for public convenience, that the University of Oxford has done me the honour of accepting this Lucera bronze, which henceforth will find a resting-place there in the Ashmolean Museum.

W. M. WYLIE.

[a] Carm. iii. xv. 13.

[b] Virgil, Georg. i. 339.

[c] Compare Herodotus, ii. 48-51.

[d] Livy, lib. vii. c. 2.

XV.—*Some Account of the Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient Rome.* *By* H. C. Coote, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read December 13th, 1866.

No one has yet written the history of the Roman pâlate, such as it became when the successes of that people had given occasion for its artificial cultivation. The Roman, consequently, has never been contemplated on this side of his character. This is not merely an omission in archæology, it is a blank left in the annals of taste. And the omission is the more remarkable, as most other subjects of antiquity have been fathomed by the learned, down even to the shoe and the *caliga*.

This subject alone *caret vate sacro*.[a] In saying this I do not of course mean that the subject has not been imperfectly touched upon, for all the world is familiar with the *rhombus* of Domitian, the *mullus trilibris* of Horace, the oysters of Rutupium, and the slave-fed *murenæ* of Vidius Pollio; while the dishes of nightingales' tongues served up to that inventive madman Heliogabalus, and the culinary wonders of the Augustan writers, are known alike to learned and unlearned.

But all these allusions have been fragmentary merely, meant to point a feeble moral,—not to expound principles of the *cuisine*. In a word, the writers have never thought of treating Roman cookery *en cuisinier*—the only way in which the subject can afford a rational interest to any one.

Virtually, therefore, this subject has been left untouched by these authors. There is no excuse, however, for this neglect of Roman Cookery, for the amplest materials exist for its mastery and complete illustration.

The materials I allude to are to be found for the searching in a well-digested treatise upon all the appliances of the *cuisine* as they were in vogue and operation in the days of the Emperors.

This treatise has at some time received the magniloquent name of "Apicius"—a fond reminiscence of the great *gourmet* of that name who flourished under

[a] I do not mean to ignore the paper contributed by Professor Jowett to Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionary, though its position in that popular compilation is perhaps to be regretted. Mr. Jowett's contribution *scatet mendis*. He inflects the plural of *tuber* into *tuberes*; *boletus* (the large mushroom) is translated "truffle," the real Latin for which is *tuber*; and in the *Cœna Metelli* he explains *lumbi* ("côtelettes") by haunches; *altilia* ("poultry") by rich meats, &c. &c.

Tiberius, and whom all the world, from Juvenal and Martial down to the author of Querolus, have agreed to consider the type of the *haute cuisine* of Rome. It is of him that Pliny says "Ad omne luxus ingenium mirus."[a]

As the real Apicius was no more a cook than Jean Grolier was a binder, the book itself[b] is the actual compilation of a Roman Soyer or Francatelli, who, availing himself of his predecessors' learning, has given recipes which range from the Republic to the age of Heliogabalus. I say this upon authority, for the names of the dishes occurring in the book supply us with these dates. We have dishes which owe their nomenclature to historical personages, some as familiar as household words, others though not so prominent still distinctly traceable.

For the period of the Republic we have Varro, who gives his name to a dish of beets.[c] Julius Matius, the friend of Cæsar and Cicero, who confers the same favour upon a mince, &c.[d] The Emperors and their high functionaries figure in the same manner. Vitellius,[e] Commodus,[f] Didius Julianus,[g] shine as inventors. Julius Fronto, the *prætor urbanus* of Vitellius, emulates his master.[h]

Celsinius, a relative of Clodius Albinus, lends his name to a sucking pig.[i] But above all Varius (or Heliogabalus) deserves mention.

There were not only *condita*[k] attributed to him which have been long since forgotten, but the book contains without his name those other inventions of his which Lampridius has recorded in these words:—

"Primus fecit de piscibus isicia, primus de ostreis et leiostreis, et aliis hujusmodi marinis conchis et locustis et cammaris et squillis."[l]

The latter words the reader should note, for when he shall come to read that part of the present essay which refers to these *isicia*, he will see that to the odious Heliogabalus he owes his lobster rissoles.

Apicius himself figures on several occasions in this culinary nomenclature.

There are *plats* also in the book without his name, but which he was the first to introduce to public notice—*cymæ et coliculi*—in other words, sprouts. These

[a] Pliny, Hist. Nat. ix. 17, 30.

[b] There have been several editions of this Roman Cookery Book. That of Dr. Martin Lister, Physician to Queen Anne, entitled "Apicii Coelii de Opsoniis et Condimentis sive Arte Coquinariâ Libri Decem," was printed in the small number of 120 copies, by Bowyer, London, 1705. A second edition of this text, *longe auctior et emendatior*, was given by Theod. Jans. Almeloveen. Amsterdam, 1709. Since the present paper was read, a new Edition has appeared by Chr. Theophil. Schuch, Heidelberg, 1867, comprising a revised text founded on the collation of seven MSS. with the *princeps editio* (Venice s. a.) with notes critical and explanatory, which however do not appear to add much to our understanding of the book.

[c] Apicius, lib. iii. c. 2. [d] Ib. lib. iv. c. 3. [e] Lib. viii. c. 7.

[f] Dr. Lister's Preface. [g] Lib. v. c. 1. [h] Lib. viii. c. 7.

[i] Ibid. [k] In Vita Heliogabali, Peter's edit. vol. i. p. 215. [l] Ibid.

early delicacies won the heart of his imperial master, Tiberius; though, as Pliny also records, they shocked the rigid principle of the virtuous Drusus.[a]

The book, however, notwithstanding the dates of the recipes may vary, is a compilation made by one man. It is complete in itself, and is duly proportioned and related to its parts.[b] In its literal style it resembles Mrs. Glasse, in her pleasant pleonasms and sagacious comments.[c] It is to its contents that I propose hereafter to call the reader's attention. Their interest is undeniable. They illustrate Plautus, Terence, Juvenal, and Seneca.

The dishes, their material and sauce, which find fun for Plautus, make Martial impassioned, irritate Juvenal, and extract morality from Seneca, are all here. The dry narrations of the *Scriptores Augustæ Historiæ*, the charming gossipings and delicious extracts of Athenæus, are all rendered intelligible by Apicius.

Without him, the point of their allusions, even the meaning of their observations, is simply unattainable. These are some of the indirect advantages which our author affords—directly, he of course does more, because he formulates and details his art, and all attempts to define and explain Roman cookery without him are merely futile. To resuscitate a Roman dinner out of the spreads of Nasidienus and Trimalchio is to explain *ignotum per ignotius*. The details cannot be understood, and the *vues d'ensemble* propounded by the *farceurs* who have described these imaginary dinners are not meant to be true.

With such high claims upon our appreciation, it is very curious that this book should have sunk into entire oblivion since the days of its best editor, Dr. Lister.[d]

So absolute, however, has been the oblivion, that Ruperti when commenting upon that passage in Juvenal[e] where the satirist accuses a miser of keeping his *minutal* over to the next day in the middle of a Roman September, is obliged to have recourse to Isidore the Bishop for an incomplete gloss, when he could have found a series of exact definitions in the pages of a cook who had made the dish—our author.

[a] Hist. Nat. xix. 41.

[b] The references made in and to itself prove this: "Et hunc præcondies sicut hædum Tarpeianum" (lib. viii. c. 8). "Minutal ex jecinoribus et pulmonibus leporis, invenies inter lepores quemadmodum facies." (lib. iv. c. 3), &c. &c.

[c] "Accipies cumanam mundam" (lib. v. c. 4). "Accipies pisces" (lib. iv. c. 2). "Accipies pullum" (lib. vi. c. 9). "Accipies cochleas" (lib. vii. c. 16.)

[d] Dr. Lister's name is not mentioned in the Classical Dictionary *sub voce* Apicius. See note [b] on preceding page.

[e] Sat. xiv. vv. 129, 130. "Hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri.

Again, the great scholar Weise was at his wits' end when he came to the following passage in the Cistellaria of Plautus,[a] "Dî me omnes, magni minutique et patellarii, &c." Alcesimarchus, who makes this adjuration, only meant "Gods great and small," the latter as small as if they had been chopped up for that peculiar Roman dish which they sometimes called *patella*, and more generally *patina*.[b] (See *post*.) Weise could only interpret this passage as meaning "Lares fed out of a patella," which they certainly never were. If he had consulted Apicius he would have found a better and more appropriate meaning. He shews also a corresponding ignorance of ancient cookery in other notes to his great and excellent edition of the Roman dramatist.

These inadvertencies are but blots on the sun; but I mention them as strictly *à propos* of the utility and interest of our author.

Porson, too, who formed the library of the Institution in Finsbury Circus, intending to accumulate therein all that was excellent or curious in literary antiquity, never thought of adding this little book to that large collection, so utterly unknown had it become in his day.

I have said enough, I think, to raise a presumption that this writer is in no way deserving of the neglect which has attached to him, and I will now proceed with our subject, in the treatment of which he will be the authority unhesitatingly followed.

A word, however, should be first said as to how and whence the Romans got that cookery which Apicius has described. In point of fact the system set out in this treatise is the complete form which the art assumed through progressive improvements from the later and more refined days of the Republic to a period succeeding the death of Heliogabalus.

This system in its completeness shews signs of being composite—a combination of Greek Art with pre-existing Roman elements, which Roman taste would not consent to lose.

The change which resulted in this union was brought about after this manner: The Romans being a people in the main *soldatesque* and agricultural, their original cookery could be little else than a very simple affair.

But whatever it was it had the peculiarity of being very vegetarian,[c] a property

[a] Act ii. scene 1, v. 55.

[b] "*Patellarios* intelligunt Lares, quibus cibus in patella adportabatur." Weise, *in loc. cit.*

[c] In far later days Pliny jestingly described an old-fashioned Latin dinner thus:—"Lactucæ singulæ, cochleæ ternæ, ova bina, alica cum mulso et nive, olivæ Bæticæ, cucurbitæ, bulbi, alia mille non minus lauta." (Lib. i. epist. 15.) This Roman taste is otherwise curiously illustrated in Columella (ii. 22).

which adheres to the cookery of the Latin races to this day, and is in itself an evidence of much refinement.

It was converted from its old simplicity, from a *ministerium* into an art (to use the words of Livy, lib. xxxix. c. 6[a]), by the effects of the victories of Cnæus Manlius Vulso in Asia.

This was A.U.C. 565, and Livy thought the date of the change important enough for commemoration in his history, at the same time letting his readers know that, though the original change was great in itself, it was nothing to what followed, "Vix tamen illa quæ tum conspiciebantur semina erant futuræ luxuriæ," says he. I give these words of Livy, because they reconcile an assertion of Athenæus. In quoting Nicolaus of Damascus, an author of the time of Augustus, he says that Lucullus, after his victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, introduced sumptuous living into Rome.[b] The expression is large, and the context shows that cookery is included in it.

Both these dates are no doubt right. That given by Livy is corroborated by the references to the new Greek system, which are sown broadcast through Plautus, while his qualification prepares us for a greater developement of the art.[c] And no one could be more distinctly intended for that mission than the magnificent acclimatiser Lucullus.

One thing is incontestable: the Romans attributed the improvement made in their original cookery to the Asiatic Greeks, a school wherein "the cook was a poet, and the mind was the limit of the art."[d]

Among other things which a Roman might lawfully do, even *festis diebus, et feriis publicis*, was the cultivation of vegetables, "in horto quicquid olerum causâ facias, omne licet."

[a] So when Gaius, the lawyer, wrote, it was an *artificium* in the eye of the law. (Dig. xxi. tit. 1, c. 18. p. 1.) "Venditor qui optimum coquum esse dixerit, optimum in eo artificio præstare debet."

[b] ὥκείλεν εἰς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν, ἐκ τῆς παλαίας σωφροσύνης. (Athen. vi. 109.)

[c] Livy's date is corroborated by the expressions occurring almost *passim* in Plautus, and referring both to the disgraced Roman cookery and to the new Greek forms. The cook in "Pseudolus" (Act iii. sc. 2), says—

"Non ego item cœnam condio, ut alii coci,
Qui mihi condita prata in patinis proferunt,
Boves qui convivas faciunt, herbasque oggerunt,
Eas herbas herbis aliis porrò condiunt."

This change attracted the notice even of the grave declaimer Lucan, lib. 1, vv. 163, 164—

"Non auro, tectisve modus, mensasque priores
Aspernata fames."

[d] A cook in a play of Euphron is made to say (Athenæus, i. 13)—

Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει,
Ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.

The Roman however did not forget his old cookery altogether, but, as I have already intimated, was a vegetarian to the last, the adopted invigorating Greek sauces warming that simple fare into new assimilating life and energy.[a]

To the last also he retained his old attachment for his native *Lucanicæ*, his *botelli*, and his *farcimina*—his sausages and his smoked meat. (See *post.*)

There, as in other matters, his eclecticism and combining power served him in good stead. Upon this Greco-Asiatic inspiration the Romans plunged into gastronomy with the force and fervour of their strong nature.

They now became dinner givers and diners out, a character which they supported down to the days of the honest soldier Ammianus.[b] This social reciprocity insured the success of the new cookery. Effect reacted upon cause.

They also devoted themselves to the domestication and improvement of the *matériel*, a study for which their appointments into distant provinces gave them ample verge and opportunity.

In compliance with this passion Sergius Orata and Licinius Murena took their surnames from the contents of their *vivaria*, not from a devastated land, or, as Columella says, "as did others take the names of Numantinus and Isauricus."[c]

This enlargement of social science roused an opposition. Ideas of such novelty, taken secondhand from the lively and luxurious Greek, aroused what still remained of the stern and puritanical character of the Romans.

This led to the enactment of the *Lex Fannia*, or perhaps the *Lex Orchia*, one

[a] Pseudolus, Act 3, sc. 3—

Ballio. Quid tu? divinis condimentis utere,
Quî prorogare vitam possis hominibus,
Qui ea culpes condimenta.
Cocus. Audacter dicito;
Nam vel ducenos annos poterunt vivere,
Meas qui esitabunt escas quas condivero;
Nam ego cicilendrum quando in patinas indidi,
Aut sipolindrum aut macidem aut sancaptidem;
Eæ ipsæ se patinæ fervefaciunt illico.
Hæc ad Neptuni pecudes condimenta sunt.
Terrestres pecudes cicimandro condio,
Aut hapalopside aut cataractria.
Ballio. At te Juppiter
Diique omnes perdant, cum condimentis tuis,
Cumque omnibus tuis mendaciis.

[b] Lib. xiv. c. 6, p. 16.

[c] Lib. viii. c. 16. "Velut ante devictarum gentium Numantinus et Isauricus, ita Sergius Orata et Licinius Murena captorum piscium lætabantur vocabulis." See Festus also, and Macrobius, lib. ii. c. 11.

provision of which went to restrict the number of *convives* at a dinner party, not being members of the family, to three only.[a]

The next step was to lessen the pleasures of those who were allowed to assemble, by prohibiting dormice, shellfish, and strange birds brought from another world.[b] These latter words are by no means trivial, for they meant pheasant, woodcock, and guinea fowl.

No success could wait on such grim essays at retrogression. They accordingly proved failures, and the efforts of sumptuary laws and censors could not drive the Roman gentleman back into the plain cookery of his ancestors.

So the new cookery and its adherents were left in peace, the art enlarging its bounds from time to time, as the opportunities offered themselves, until nothing more was left to be done in the way of improvement.

This consummation was soon effected in that "Epitome of the Universe," that "City of Heaven," as even the Greeks condescended to call it, where all who loved luxury and all who ministered to it found a congenial home.[c]

We may form an exact idea of the pitch of excellence which the Roman *cuisine* attained by a contemplation of the means which were applied by the Romans to their gastronomic ends. In enumerating and describing the *batterie*, I shall draw solely upon the resources of Apicius, without reference to Pompeii or Herculaneum, for the simple reason that our author, though not before *exploité*, is more complete and satisfactory in his references than any mere collection of the material implements themselves can ever pretend to be, though upon such his book forms a most excellent commentary. There are the spit (*veru*), the gridiron (*craticula*), and the frying-pan (*sartago*).

There is the saucepan of every size and measurement (*cacabus*, *cacabulus*, *zema*, *angularis*, *pultarium*).

There is the stewpan of bronze (*patina*, *patella*), and of earthenware (*cumana*).

There is the braising-pan proper (*thermospodion*).

There is the oven (*furnus*), and the Dutch oven (*clibanus*).

There is something else, called by Apicius *operculum*, whose destination it is to be placed, containing its object wrapped in papyrus, over the fire (*super vaporem ignis*), or in an oven.[d]

[a] Athenæus, lib. vi. c. 108. Macrob. lib. ii. c. 13.

[b] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 82. "Glires, quos censoriæ leges, princepsque M. Scaurus in consulatu, non alio modo cœnis ademere, quam conchylia, aut ex alio orbe convectas aves." See also the same author for similar prohibitions which affected pork. Ibid. c. 77.

[c] Athenæus, lib. i. c. 36.

[d] Lib. ix. c. 10; lib. v. c. 4.

Sometimes the object to be cooked was put upon what is called by Apicius a *tegula*, and that was placed inside the oven.[a]

The *bain marie* pan was in great vogue.[b]

There were mechanical means for steaming.[c]

Occasionally in boiling, a net (*reticulus*) or a basket (*sportella*) was used.[d]

Though, as I have said, the Roman cooks used the braising-pan proper, they, like all sensible artists, could braise in a stewpan as well.

The *patina* or the *patella* was closed; sometimes for greater power of action it was luted, and was then placed in the oven.[e]

Jugging was done as with ourselves.[f]

Moulds (*formellæ*) were freely used. The pulp was poured inside, and the mould was put into the oven.

These moulds, when specially applied to fish, took the form of fishes, fantastic or true.[g]

Straining and skimming are referred to by Apicius, and strainers and skimmers must therefore have been ready to his hand.

A cloth for drying (*sabanus*) is frequently mentioned by him.

Many other ways and means crop up throughout our matter-of-fact author.

Papyrus is used to cover over an object in roasting, or to keep in the stuffing.[h]

Sometimes the last-mentioned purpose is attained by tying up the object in a linen cloth.[i]

A pig's cawl (*omentum*), though used occasionally for a corresponding purpose, is rather to be considered a component part of the dish.[j]

After the cooking was completed, when the setting effect of great and sudden

[a] Lib. viii. c. 9.

[b] Lib. iv. c. 2. "Ad aquam calidam coques." See also Dr. Lister's note to lib. x., c. 13. Its classical name would seem to be *duplex vas*.

[c] See the expression "in ambigas sublatæ." Lib. vi., c. 7.

[d] Lib. viii. c. 6. "Vel certe mittitur in reticulo, vel in sportella, et diligenter constringitur." Ibid. c. 7, "in sportella ferventi ollæ submittis."

[e] Lib. x. c. 1. "Adjicies in patinam, co-operies gypsabis, coques in furno."

[f] Lib. viii. c. 6. "Hædum macerabis in furno in patella quæ oleum habeat."

[g] Lib. ix. c. 13. "in formella piscem formabis."

[h] Lib. viii. c. 8. "Omento teges, et charta colliges lacinias et surclas." Lib ix. c. 10: "Impletur et consuitur, involvitur in charta et sic supra vaporem ignis in operculo componitur."

[i] Lib. viii. c. 1. "Cum impleta fuerit constringitur illa pars quæ impleta est ex lino, et mittitur in zymam (zemam?)"

[j] "Omento tegis," &c.; lib. v. c. 3. "Si volueris, eadem tubera omento porcino involves et assabis;" lib. vii. c. 14.

cold was required, it was obtained by putting the *mets* in a *bain marie* pan containing cold water or snow.[a]

The chimneys of Roman kitchens, being roomy and capacious, admitted of objects being hung up in them for the sake of that creosotic relish and sober hue which wood smoke so liberally affords.

Lucanicæ (see *post*) were so hung in the interval between their first cooking and their last.[b]

Sometimes a hare was in like manner suspended *ad fumum*.[c]

Where there existed all these means and appliances so varied and so distinctly available for the refinements of the art, the conclusion is a necessary one, that cookery flourished at Rome in all the power of a complete science.

Fortified by this general conclusion I will now pass on to a consideration of the details, taking first the Roman sauces and their ingredients. As these are the demonstrations of cookery as a fine art, so are they the measure and gauge of its excellence.

Upon these Apicius of course expands himself, his book, like every other genuine compilation of its kind, being *au fond* a record of sauces and ingredients of stews.

It is perhaps supererogatory to observe that our general sauces are formed of meat gravy with the flavouring of onion, spices, and *fines herbes*, the whole being inspirited by the addition of wine. To this conjunction is sometimes added ketchup—rarely anchovy, and where it is required the sauces are sometimes thickened by flour or arrowroot. Sauces like these are also the necessary ingredients of our stews.

Now the Roman sauces are the same in principle, and, with some exceptions, are nearly the same in fact.

In the first place the Romans used profusely the herbs which their country largely possessed and possesses.

These *herbes potagères*, most of them familiar, may be catalogued thus: Lovage, sage, cummin, coriander, marjoram, rue, dill, basil, mint, thyme, wild thyme, fennel, pennyroyal, parsley, saffron, leaves of leeks and of celery (or smallage), asparagus, &c.

[a] "In frigidam mittes;" lib. ix. c. 4. "Insuper nivem sub ora asperges;" lib. iv. c. 1. Dr. Lister's note upon the last passage is—"Super repositorium quoddam ad nivem continendam accommodatum, latis oris."

[b] Lib. ii. c. 4.

[c] Lib. viii. c. 8: "suspendes ad fumum."

Besides these we find the onion, leek, *ciboule*, garlic, cyperus (the galingale of Chaucer and the Forme of Cury), peas, &c.

Seeds also came in for constant use, *e.g.* of celery (or smallage), rocket, carraway, mustard, cummin, aniseed, the berries of rue, laurel, myrtle, juniper, lentise, &c.

Fruits are great favourites in some sauces, *e.g.* pine-nuts, walnuts, filberts, hazel nuts, dates, damsons, plums, raisons, almonds, quinces, &c.

Spices of course are prominent: pepper, long and short, ginger, malobathrum, cassium, folium, costus, spikenard, all products of the East.[a]

Besides all these there was another spice, a host in itself, the staple of Cyrene and the Cyrenaica, where it once grew. This was *silphium*, *laser*, or *laserpitium*, used in root, in leaf, and in inspissated juice. This Cyreniac spice, upon whose harvests fluctuated the fortunes of that Greek colony, and which had enriched the Egyptian before them, is now utterly lost; and the same fate has overtaken its substitute, the Parthian or Indian laser, though it is possible the latter is only now unrecognisable.[b]

In short, all things which offered zest, that insured flavour, that assisted appetite, and promoted digestion, were imported into sauce and stew.

In modifying and perfecting these sauces honey[c] was used where we now apply sugar. Vinegar lent the aid of its sanitary and piquant savour, and oil took the place now occupied by the barbarian butter.

Instead of meat essence, which neither the Greeks nor the Romans thought of, the latter applied wine in its many varieties pure and prepared—in this respect approaching to the practice of ourselves some generations ago.[d]

But there the resemblance stops, for the Romans tempered the wine in their

[a] Cinnamon, if it be the same as the *cinnamum* of the Romans, does not occur in our author. Though early known at Rome, it was used for the pyre, not in the kitchen—for the dead, never for the living—(see Martial and Ovid). This is an *indicium* of the age of the work under review.

[b] See Dr Lister's learned notes to lib. i. c. 30, and lib. vii. c. 5, of Apicius. (It may be observed in addition, that the coins of Cyrene show the *laser* to have been an umbelliferous plant. The Assafœtida plant (Ferula Assafœtida, L.) which has commonly been taken for the ancient *laser*, is indeed of this natural order, and is actually used in modern Arab cookery; Dr. Lister however is strongly opposed to this interpretation. See also, Pacho, Rél. d'un Voyage dans le Cyrénaïque, Paris, 1827, p. 251.)

[c] Sugar was known to exist. Lucan (lib. iii. v. 237) says—"Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos."

[d] *i.e.* merum, defrutum, carænum, mulsum, passum—all but merum were wines boiled down to different degrees, sometimes with honey. All the Italian wines were more or less strong, taking much time to mature. (Athenæus, lib. i. c. 48.)

sauces with an extraordinary confection called originally *garum*, but afterwards more generally *liquamen*, an invention not of themselves, but of the Greeks.

Like the laser, this also has been lost, and it is to books that we must have recourse for an insight into its elements and manufacture. As to its composition Apicius is wholly silent, though the condiment itself is a matter of perpetual reference in his book. He speaks of it always as being ready to the hand of the cook.

Being at all times made out of Italy,[a] there lurks a mystery in the details handed down to us of its mode of preparation. The declared manner of making it however was this:—The intestines, gills, and blood of certain larger fishes, such as tunny, sturgeon, mackerel, or small fishes, indiscriminately in their entirety, were put into an open vat. Salt was mixed with them. The whole was then exposed to the sun for a long time (*in sole inveterantur*). During this process, which could only be chemical, the fishes were stirred and turned. Probably there ensued a liquefaction analogous to that of the mushroom on the action of the salt. Its other name, *liquamen*, would shew this, unless of course that word has reference to any fining process which *garum* had to undergo before it made its appearance in the markets of the Roman world.[b] Wine was infused into it at some period, probably when the fermentation had gone far enough. Marjoram and other pot-herbs were also added, probably at the same time and for the same purpose that the wine had been applied, viz. to stay the fermentation and to assist the keeping properties of the mixture. It does not appear that water was ever added, though *garum* occasionally was used with a profusion which might warrant our thinking so. As the final process it was strained and bottled.

This is all that is, and probably ever will be, known of the making of *garum*; but I do not think it contains the whole truth. There must have been something more which the Romans, who did not make it, never knew or could not understand. But, whatever it was, it carried away and led captive the Roman palate, as we shall hereafter see.

When garum was not used salt was applied.

[a] Hor. lib. ii. sat. 4: "Non alia (*i.e.* muria) quam qua Byzantia putuit orca." Apul. Metamorph. lib. x. c. 16: "pisces exotico jure perfusos." See also Dr. Lister's note, lib. vii. c. 7.

[b] See Dr. Lister's notes to Apicius, lib. i. c. 7, and alibi. He is wrong in thinking that the word *liquamen* was of late introduction. It was not so, for in the triclinium of a house excavated at Pompeii. under the superintendence of Edward Falkener, Esq., there were found two small amphoræ, having painted on them in black letters "liquamen optimum." See the interesting report of that gentleman in the Museum of Classical Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 79.

Of the Roman sauces there were two divisions. The one, called by Apicius *jus simplex*,[a] was formed of oil, wine, and garum, or oil, wine, garum, and vinegar. The other, which comprehended this, with the addition of the *herbes potagères*, spices, &c. which I have described, is called by the same artist *tritura*. The latter word shews the means by which these materials were made available for sauce and stew. These agents were the mortar and pestle (*mortarium et pistillum*), true old Italic appliances, the necessary furniture of every kitchen, even that of the miser Euclio.[b] The mortar, however, though the general, was not the only appliance. The hand-mill was sometimes, more especially for pepper, when it was required for the purpose of aspersion.[c]

To bind or thicken their sauces the Romans used *amylum*[d] or starch, bread,[e] and *laganum* or wafer biscuits.[f]

Eggs raw and cooked, or their yolks only, are used for a like purpose.

Sometimes objects were boiled in vegetable matters, which were not afterwards brought to the table, *e. g.* in sprigs of bay,[g] bunches of herbs.[h] In like manner, pork was boiled with dry figs and bay leaves.[i]

Some sauces were kept by the Romans ready made. Apicius gives us the recipes of these, under the names of *laseratum*, *œnogarum*, *oxyporum*, *hypotrimma*, *oxygarum*, and *moretaria*.

They were formed of the same materials, and in the same manner as the sauces which he prescribes to the various dishes, and therefore require no elucidation.

Wine, oil, and garum, however, were not the only diluents of the materials for the sauces; the gravy of the object itself was an additional element.

Apicius calls this by the singular phrase of *jus de suo sibi!*[k] and sometimes, though far less frequently, *succus suus*.

The sketch I have given of the materials of the sauces used in a Roman kitchen

[a] Lib. viii. c. 1. So Horace, lib. ii. sat. 4.

[b] Aulularia, act i. sc. 3; vv. 17, 18:

"Cultrum, securim, pistillum, mortarium,
Quæ utenda vasa semper vicini rogant."

[c] Dr. Lister's *addendum* to his own preface, quoting Petronius. See also lib. iv. c. 2, "super asperges piper tritum."

[d] Passim. [e] Lib. iv. c. 1. [f] Lib. iv. c. 2.

[g] "Elixatur in aqua marina cum lauri turionibus et anetho." Lib. viii. c. 1.

[h] Lib. iv. c. 2. "Allegas fasciculos rutæ et origani; et subinde fasciculos cum apua elixabis. Cum cocta fuerit, projicies fasciculos." [i] Lib. vii. c. 9.

[k] This phrase is curious enough in itself to deserve illustration. It is true old-fashioned Plautian

will be a sufficient introduction to the Roman dishes themselves, to which I will now address myself, giving examples of each class.

I will take fish first, not only because it presents itself readily to the mind of a modern, but also because fish appears in the first course of the *cæna* of the pontifex Metellus, the *menu* of which, preserved by Macrobius, is well known.

We find it boiled, stewed, baked, and broiled.

We find it stuffed with various ingredients in a manner that would go far to satisfy a customer of the "Ship" and the "Trafalgar."

We find shell-fish treated with their due measure of attention; some kinds of the same fish being formed into a dish which it is not too much to say was the forerunner of that exquisite *plat* lobster rissoles, an invention which even the memory of the poor mad sensualist Heliogabalus cannot depreciate.

The Roman also liked salt fish, though the nearness of his seas and the excellence of his land carriage placed him beyond this article considered as a necessity. It was therefore a voluntary liking on his part, and by the liberality of his sauces and his dressings he converted it into a luxury.

Recipes from Apicius.

Fish.

Isicia of Lobster, &c.[a]—Take off the spawn first; boil the lobster, then chop it up into a fine pulp; pound with eggs, pepper, garum, and shape.

Latinity, and if other proof were wanting would of itself demonstrate the genuineness of the Apician text:—Captivi, act i. sc. 2, vv. 12, 13.

"Quasi, cum caletur, cochleæ in occulto latent,
Suo sibi succo vivunt, ros si non cadit."

Amphitruo, act i. sc. 1, v. 116:—

"Atque hunc telo suo sibi malitia, à foribus pellere."

Ibid. v. 174:—

"Illic homo à me sibi malam rem arassit jumento suo."

Asinaria, act iv. sc. 2, vv. 16 and 17:—

"Cum suo sibi gnato una ad amicum de die potare."

The phrase is a rare remnant of the old familiar language of Rome, such as slaves talked so long, that their masters ultimately adopted it—a language of which Plautus gives us glimpses, and which the *graffiti* may perhaps help to restore. When Varius was emperor, this phrase of the kitchen was as rife as when Plautus wrote—a proof that occasionally slang has been long lived.

[a] Lib. ii. c. 1. *Isicia de loligine.* "Sublatis crinibus in pulmentum tundes, sicut assolet pulpa; et in mor-

(Being made in moulds, the Roman rissoles would be baked, not fried, as with us.)

Lobster or Crab boiled in the shell.—Chopped onion, pepper, lovage, carraway, cummin, date, honey, vinegar, wine, garum, oil, *defrutum*, mustard.[a]

Broiled Lobster.—Open the lobster, pour therein a mixture of garum, pepper, and coriander, and so broil on a gridiron, adding the mixture during the process, so often as the lobster dries.[b]

Patinæ or Fish Stews.

A patina of Apua.—Wash the apua, steep in oil, lay in a *cumana*; add thereto oil, garum, wine. Tie bunches of rue and marjoram together, and boil them at intervals with the fish. When it is done throw away the bunches, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[c]

Patina of Red Mullets.—Scrape the mullets, lay them in a clean *patina*, add thereto garum, and let it boil. When it is boiling put in *mulsum* and *passum*, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[d]

A Patina of Fishes.—Scrape any sort of fishes; chop up dry chalots or any other kind of onion, and put them into a patina. Lay the fishes upon them; add thereto garum, oil, and cook; when they are done put some cooked *salsum* (any salt thing, like caviare, &c.) in the midst of them; add vinegar.[e]

tario et in liquamine diligentur fricatur; et exinde isicia plassantur." Lib. ix. c. 1. *Aliter Locusta.* "Isicia de cauda ejus sic facies: uvam prius demes, et elixas; deinde pulpam concides, et cum liquamine pipere et ovis isicia formabis." To get a perfect recipe for marine *isicia* these two recipes must be taken together. Apicius also says (lib. ii. c. 1): "Isicia fiunt marina de cammaris et astacis: de loligine: de sepia: de locusta."

[a] Lib. ix. c. 1. *Jus in Locusta et Carabo induta.* "Cepam pallacanam concisam, piper, ligusticum, careum, cuminum, caryotam; mel, acetum, vinum, liquamen, oleum, defrutum. Hoc jus adjicito sinapi in elixaturis."

[b] Ibid. *Locustas assas sic facies.* Aperiuntur locustæ, ut assolet, cum testa sua et infunditur iis piperatum, coriandratum, et sic in craticula assantur: cum siccaverint, adjicies iis in craticula, quoties siccaverint, quousque assantur bene, et inferes."

[c] Lib. iv. c. 2. "Apuam lavas, ex oleo maceras, in cumana compones, adjicies oleum, liquamen, vinum. Alligas fasciculos rutæ et origanum: et subinde fasciculos cum aqua elixabis, cum cocta fuerit, projicies fasciculos et piper asperges, et inferes."

[d] Ibid. "Mullos rades, in patina munda compones, adjicies liquamen ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit, mulsum mittes aut passum, piper asperges et inferes."

[e] Ibid. "Pisces qualeslibet rades et curatos mittes, cepas siccas Ascalonias, vel alterius generis concides in patinam, et pisces super compones; adjicies liquamen, oleum; cum coctum fuerit, salsum coctum in medio pones, addendum acetum."

Another Patina of Fish.—Prepare the fish, pound salt and coriander seed well together in a mortar. Put the fish into a *patina* and add the mixture. Cover and lute down (*gypsabis*) the patina, and put into an oven; when it is done sprinkle over it the sharpest vinegar, and serve.[a]

A Stuffed Sepia.—Cook the sepia; prepare stuffing as follows:—Pound boiled brains with pepper, mix therewith sufficient raw eggs, whole pepper, and *isicia*, chopped up. Sew up the whole inside the fish, and put into an *olla* of boiling water, so that the stuffing (*impensa*) may unite (*coire*).[b]

Sauce for Fried Fish.—Prepare any fish, sprinkle salt over it, and fry. Serve with the following sauce:—Pound pepper, cummin, coriander seed, laser root, marjoram, rue, pour in vinegar, add date, honey, *defrutum*, oil; temper with garum. Pour it out into a *cacabus* (kettle), make it hot; when hot, pour it over the fried fish; sprinkle pepper, and serve.[c]

Sauce for a Boiled Fish.—Pepper, lovage, cummin, ciboule (or button onion), marjoram, pine nuts, dates, honey, vinegar, garum, mustard, oil moderately. If you like add raisins.[d]

I will next take beef, veal, and mutton.

Beef, as still happens in other hot countries, takes no high place in the *cuisine* of Rome.

Veal has more consideration; but mutton, unless wild, is neglected altogether.

Lamb receives the honours, as is the case in modern Rome; and among its modes of cooking rank the *copadia* or stews, enormously affected by the Romans. This word has been persistently misunderstood by translators, and strangely escaped the comprehension even of Dr. Lister. The *marinade* of lamb is also found.

[a] Lib. x. c. 1. "Piscem curabis diligenter, mittis in mortarium salem, coriandri semen, conteres bene, volves eum, adjicies in patinam, cooperies, gypsabis, coques in furno: cum coctus fuerit, tolles: accto acerrimo asperges et inferes."

[b] Lib. ix. c. 4. "—sic farcies sepiam coctam; cerebella elixa enervata teres cum pipere, cui commisces ova cruda quod satis erit, piper integrum, isicia minuta, et sic consues et in bullientem ollam mittes, ita ut coire impensa possit."

[c] Lib. x. c. 1. *Jus diabotanων in pisce frixo.* "Piscem quemlibet cures, salias, friges; teres piper, cuminum, coriandri semen, laceris radicem, origanum, rutam fricabis; suffundes acetum; adjicies caryotam, mel, defrutum, oleum; liquamine temperabis, refundes in cacabum, facias ut ferveat. Cum ferbuerit piscem frictum perfundes, piper asperges et inferes."

[d] Ibid. *Jus in pisce elixo.* "Piper, ligusticum, cuminum, cepullam, origanum, nucleos, caryotam; mel, acetum, liquamen, sinapi, oleum modicè, jus calidum. Si velis, uvam passam."

Recipes for Veal, &c.

Sauce for Veal or Beef, with Leeks or Onions.—Garum, pepper, laser, and a modicum of oil.[a]

For Fried Veal.—Pepper, lovage, celery seed, cummin, marjoram, dry onion, raisins, honey, vinegar, wine, garum, oil, *defrutum*.[b]

For Boiled Veal.—Pound pepper, lovage, carraway, celery seeds; pour in honey, vinegar, garum, oil; warm it up, thicken with *amylum*, and pour over the meat.[c]

Another Sauce for Boiled Veal.—Pepper, lovage, fennel seed, marjoram, pine nuts, dates, honey, vinegar, garum, mustard, and oil.[d]

Lamb, Stewed (*copadia*).—Stew in pepper and garum, together with French beans (*faggiuoli*); when done, pour over it garum, pepper, laser, ground cummin seed; add sippets and oil moderately.[e]

Another Stew of Lamb.—Stew with chopped onion and coriander; when done, pour over it sauce made as follows:—Pound pepper, lovage, cummin; add garum, oil, wine; boil and thicken with amylum.[f]

Broiled Lamb, mariné.—Boil lamb in garum and oil, having first scored it; then steep it in pepper, laser, garum, oil; broil it on a gridiron; touch it up with the same sauce, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[g]

Kid is treated in manners identical with those to which lamb is subjected.

Goat may be passed over.

The wild sheep (*oris ferus*) of Apicius, however, must not be neglected; it still exists as the mouflon in Sardinia.

[a] Lib. viii. c. 5. "Liquamen, piper, laser, et olei modicum."

[b] Ibid. "Piper, ligusticum, apii semen, cuminum, origanum, cepam siccam, uvam passam; mel, acetum, vinum, liquamen, oleum, defrutum."

[c] Ibid. "Teres piper, ligusticum, careum, apii semen; suffundes mel, acetum, liquamen, oleum; calefacies, amylo obligas, et carnem perfundes."

[d] Ibid. "Piper, ligusticum, fœniculi semen, origanum, nucleos, caryotam; mel, acetum, liquamen, sinape et oleum."

[e] Lib. viii. c. 6. "Pipere, liquamine coques, cum phaseolis paratariis; suffundes liquamen, piper, laser, cuminum tritum, buccellas panis, oleum modicè."

[f] Ibid. "Mittes in cacabum copadia, cepam, coriandrum minutim succides. Teres piper, ligusticum, cuminum; liquamen, oleum, vinum: coques; exinanies in patina, amylo obligas."

[g] Ibid. "Hædi cocturam, ubi eum ex liquamine et oleo coxeris incisum, infundes in pipere, lasere, liquamine, oleo modice, et in craticula assabis; eodem juro contynges, piper asperges et inferes."

Hot Sauce for a Wild Sheep.—Pepper, lovage, cummin, dry mint, thyme, *silphium* (*i. e.* laser), pour in wine—add damsons which have been macerated, honey, wine, garum, vinegar, *passum* (for colouring), and oil. Stir with a bunch of marjoram and dry mint.[a]

Venison has many sauces, but there is only space for a few of them.

Recipes for Venison and Hare.

A Sauce for Roast Venison.—Pepper, spikenard, *folium*, celery seed, dry onions, green rue, honey, vinegar, garum—add dates, raisins, and oil.[b]

For Boiled Venison.—Pepper, lovage, ciboule, marjoram, pine nuts, dates, honey, garum, mustard, vinegar, oil.[c]

For Roast Venison.—Boil and slightly roast the venison, serve with the following sauce: pound pepper, lovage, carraway, celery seed; pour in honey, vinegar, garum, oil, and make it hot; thicken with amylum.[d]

Hare was enormously esteemed amongst the Romans. We have Martial's dictum:—"Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus;"[e] and this estimate is confirmed beyond disputation by the series of rich and varied dressings given to it by Apicius. This high authority explains the surprise that Cæsar exhibited at finding that our ancestors would not touch it.[f]

A Baked Hare.—First boil it moderately. Then put it into a *patina* and cook it in oil in the oven. When it is nearly done touch it over with more oil and the following sauce. Pound pepper, savory, onion, rue, celery seed, garum, laser, wine, and modicum of oil. Turn over the hare in this sauce until it is thoroughly done.[g]

[a] Lib. viii. c. 4. "Piper, ligusticum, cuminum, mentham siccam, thymum, silphium; suffundes vinum; adjicies Damascena macerata; mel, vinum, liquamen, acetum, passum ad colorem, oleum; agitabis fasciculo origani et menthæ siccæ."

[b] Lib. viii. c. 2. "Piper, nardostachyum, folium, apii semen, cepam aridam, rutam viridem: mel, acetum, liquamen; adjectas caryotas, uvam passam et oleum."

[c] Ibid. "Piper, ligusticum, cepullam, origanum, nucleos, caryotas; mel, liquamen, sinape, acetum, oleum."

[d] Ibid. "Cervum elixabis et subassabis; teres piper, ligusticum, careum, apii semen; suffundes mel, acetum, liquamen, oleum calefactum; amylo obligas et carnem perfundes."

[e] Schneidewin's edition, lib. xiii. epig. 92.

[f] Comm. lib. v. c. 12. "Britanni leporem gustare fas non putant."

[g] Lib. viii. c. 8. "*In leporem madidum.* In aqua præcoquitur modice, deinde componitur in patina, ac coquitur oleo in furno, et cum prope sit coctus, ex alio oleo pertangito et de conditura infra scripta: teres piper, satureiam, cepam, rutam, apii semen; liquamen, laser, vinum et modicum olei; aliquoties versatur; in ipsa percoquitur conditura."

A Stuffed Hare.—Make the following stuffing:—Take whole pine nuts, almonds, walnuts, cut up whole peppercorns, the hare's liver and lights chopped up,[a] and raw eggs, all beaten together; stuff the hare, and cover with a pig's cawl, and bake in the oven. When it is done serve with the following sauce: rue, pepper, onion, savory, dates, garum, *carænum*, or a *conditum*. Let this sauce boil together a long time until it thickens.[b]

Sauce for a Roast Hare.—Pepper, lovage, cummin, celery seed, half a hard boiled egg. Pound and make a ball of them. Then in a small *cacabus* boil garum, wine, oil, vinegar (moderately), chopped ciboule. Afterwards put in the ball and stir the whole with marjoram or savory. If necessary thicken with *amylum*.[c]

For a Boiled Hare.—Serve with the following sauce: Oil, garum, vinegar, *passum*, chopped onion, and green rue, thyme cut up with a knife.[d]

Stewed Hare.—Stew in wine, garum, water, mustard (moderate), dill and leek with the green leaves. When it is done serve with the following sauce: Pepper, savory, round onion, dates, two damsons, wine, garum, *carænum*, oil (moderately). Thicken with *amylum*.[e]

We now come to wild boar and pork.

The first was in high esteem; but the latter was more, it was a passion of the Roman palate.

[a] In the original "pulpam de ipso lepore." The word *pulpa* was used in this sense as regarded other animals, their own interiors being used for stuffing them. It is this sense which gives point and application to the expression "Lepus tute, pulpamentum quæris." (Eunuch. act iii. sc. 1, v. 36,) *i.e.* having all the materials necessary in yourself, you seek them from a foreign source.

[b] Lib. viii. c. 8. "*In leporem farsum.* Nucleos integros, amygdala, nuces juglandes concisas, piperis grana solida, pulpam de ipsa lepore et ovis fractis, obligatur de omento porcino in furno. Sic iterum impensam facies. Rutam, piper satis, cepam, satureiam, dactylos, liquamen, carænum vel conditum: diu combulliat, donec spisset et sic perfundatur."

[c] Ibid. "*Jus album in assum leporem.* Piper, ligusticum, cuminum, apii semen, ovi duri modicum; trituram colligis, et facies globum ex ea. In cacabulo coques liquamen, vinum, oleum, acetum modice, cepullum concisam; postea globum condimentorum mittes et agitabis origano vel satureia. Si opus fuerit, amylas."

[d] Ibid. "Ornas, adjicies in lancem oleum, liquamen, acetum, passum; cepam concides et rutam viridem, thymum subcultrabis, et sic apponis."

[e] Ibid. "Coques ex vino, liquamine, aqua, sinapi modico, anetho, porro cum capillo suo. Cum se coxerit, condies; piper, satureiam, cepe rotundum, dactylos, Damascena duo; vinum, liquamen, carænum, oleum modice; stringatur amylo, modicum bulliat, conditur lepus, in patina perfunditur."

Pliny, speaking for his own times, says that there were fifty savours given to pork[a]; while by the time of Heliogabalus there were more than eighty, as our Apicius shews, so greatly had they cultivated their favourite.

Pork is roasted, broiled, fried, baked, boiled, and stewed.

We find it also in the shape of womb, neck or brawn, cutlets (*lumbi*), tails, petty toes, belly, and liver, each treated *à tour de rôle* in all the ways that ingenuity could devise.

There is a dish called *ofellæ* formed of any solid part of the hog broiled or fried, and more generally *mariné*. This was the especial delight of the Roman. "Rogo vos quis potest sine offulâ vivere?" asked the Emperor Claudius.[b]

With the roast, the broiled, the fried, and the baked, mustard is never used: laser performs its function. With boiled and stewed (*elixa* and *copadia*) mustard is always *de rigueur*.

The kidneys and the lights are tastefully treated.

We trace the haggis to its true and original form, pork being substituted by the Roman cooks for mutton.

The sucking pig takes honours, and is dressed in sixteen different ways.

All these were fresh, but the Roman was equally strong in salted pork.

The latter, in the forms which he most affected, were the *perna* (ham), and the *petaso* (hand). These last were not always used singly, but were, as we shall see, component parts of other dishes.

There was also *laridum* or bacon.

We may not, however, wonder that the Roman admired his pork. He fed the porker upon figs, and so commonly did he do so, that the word *ficatum*, from being first applied to the liver of a pig so fed, afterwards superseded *jecur* altogether—as it still does in the languages of all the existing Latin peoples.[c]

When their fatal day arrived, the end of these pigs was as poetical as their sagination. They died of apoplexy, brought on by the sudden administration of *mulsum*, the nearest approach ever made in sober fact to "dying of a rose in aromatic pain."[d]

[a] Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 72. "Neque alio ex animali munerosior materia ganeæ, quinquaginta prope sapores, cum cæteris singuli."

[b] Suet. in vita Claudii, c. 40.

[c] See Dr. Lister's note to lib. vii. c. 3.

[d] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. viii. c. 77. "Inventum M. Apicii: fico arida carica saginatis, ac satietate necatis repente mulsi potu dato."

Recipes for Boar and Pig.

Baked Boar.—Sponge it, and sprinkle it over with salt and pounded cummin, and let it remain a day. On the following day put it into the oven. When done sprinkle ground pepper over, and serve with this sauce, viz. honey, garum, *carænum*, and *passum*.[a]

Boiled Boar.—Boil him in sea water, with sprigs of bay, until the skin is sufficiently sodden to be taken off. Serve with salt, mustard, and vinegar.[b]

Hot Sauce for Roast Boar.—Pepper, fried cummin, celery seed, mint, thyme, savory, flowers of *cnicus*, roasted pine nuts, roasted almonds, honey, wine, garum, vinegar, oil (moderately).[c]

Stewed Pork.—Stew in pepper, thyme, cummin, celery seed, fennel, rue, myrtle berries, raisins, temper with *mulsum*, stir with stem of savory.[d]

Do.—Stew with pepper, celery seed, carraway, savory, flowers of *cnicus*, ciboule, roasted almonds, dates, garum, oil, modicum of mustard, colour with *defrutum*.[e]

Baked Pork.—Serve, sprinkled with much salt together with honey.[f]

Roast Pork.—Boil in salt, then roast and serve with the following sauce:—Pound myrtle berries stoned, with cummin, pepper, honey, garum, *defrutum*, and oil. Make it hot and thicken with amylum, sprinkle pepper, &c.[g]

Boiled Pork.—Serve with this sauce: pepper, parsley, ciboule, date, garum, vinegar, modicum of oil.[h]

Pork Haggis.—Empty well, wash with vinegar and salt, afterwards with water,

[a] Lib. viii. c. 1. "Spongiatur et sic aspergitur ei sal, cuminum tritum, et sic manet. Alia die mittitur in furnum; cum coctus fuerit, perfunditur piper tritum. Condimentum aprinum; mel, liquamen, carænum et passum."

[b] Ibid. "Aquâ marinâ cum ramulis lauri aprum elixas, quousque madescat; corium ei tolles; cum sale, sinape, aceto inferes."

[c] Ibid. "Piper, cuminum frictum, apii semen, mentham, thymum, satureiam, cnici flores, nucleos tostos, amygdala tosta, mel, vinum, liquamen, acetum, oleum modice."

[d] Lib. vii. c. 6. "Piper, thymum, cuminum, apii semen, fœniculum, rutam, baccam myrthæ, uvam passam; mulso temperabis, agitabis ramo satureiæ."

[e] Ibid. "Piper, apii semen, careum, satureiam, cnici flores, cepullam, amygdala tosta, caryotam, liquamen, oleum, sinapis modicum; defruto coloras."

[f] Lib. vii. c. 5. "*Assaturam assam a furno simplicem.* Sale plurimo conspersam cum melle inferes."

[g] Ibid. "Myrthæ siccæ baccam exenteratam cum cumino, pipere, melle, liquamine, defruto, et oleo teres, et fervefactum amylas, carnem elixam sale subassatam, perfundes; piper asperges et inferes."

[h] Lib. vii. c. 6. "Piper, petroselinum, cepullam, caryotam; liquamen, acetum, olei modicum; perfundis calido jure."

and fill with the following stuffing:—Pound pig's fry, beat up with three brains, and raw eggs, pine nuts, whole pepper. Temper this mixture as follows:—Pound pepper, lovage, silphium (*i. e.* laser), aniseed, ginger, modicum of rue, garum, and modicum of oil. Fill the stomach lightly, so that it burst not in the cooking. Skewer it and put it into an *olla* of boiling water. Take it out occasionally and prick it with a needle to prevent its bursting. When it is half done take it out and hang it up in the smoke to colour; afterwards take it down and finish cooking it in garum, wine, and a modicum of oil. Open it with a knife and serve with garum and lovage.[a]

Kidneys Broiled—Lay them open and sprinkle over them pounded pepper, pine nuts, coriander chopped up fine and fennel seed pounded. Then turn them back and sew them together, cover with a cawl and boil slightly in oil and garum. Afterwards bake in Dutch oven or broil on gridiron.[b]

Liver Mariné.—Steep in garum, wrap in a cawl, with pepper, lovage, and laurel berries, and broil on gridiron.[c]

Cutlets are eaten with pepper, garum, and laser.[d]

The Belly, which every scholar knows was a favourite, is thus treated:—Boil, sprinkle with salt, put into the oven, or broil moderately on the gridiron. Serve with the following sauce: garum, wine, and *passum;* thicken with amylum.[e]

Ofellæ remain.—The reader knows the verse of Martial: "Rara tibi curva craticula sudet ofella."[f]

[a] Lib. vii. c. 7. "*Ventrem porcinum.* Bene exinanies, aceto et sale, postea aqua lavas, et sic hac impensa imples. Pulpam porcinam tunsam tritam, ita ut enervata commisceas cerebella tria et ova cruda, cui nucleos infundis, et piper integrum mittis, et hoc jure temperas. Teres piper, ligusticum, silphium, anisum, zingiber, rutæ modicum, liquamen optimum, et olei modicum: reples aqualiculum, sic ut laxamentum habeat, ne dissiliat in coctura; surclas, amylas, et in ollam bullientem submittis, levas et pungis acu ne crepet; cum ad dimidias coctus fuerit, levas et ad fumum suspendis ut coloretur, et denuo cum perlaxabis, ut coqui possit; deinde liquamine, mero, oleo modico; et cultello aperies, et cum liquamine et ligustico apponis."

[b] Lib. vii. c. 8. "*Lumbuli et renes assi ita fiunt.* Aperiuntur in duas partes, ita ut expansi sint, et aspergitur iis piper tritum, nuclei, et coriandrum concisum minutatim factum, et semen fœniculi tritum: deinde lumbuli revolvuntur et consuuntur et involvuntur in omento, et sic prædurantur in oleo et liquamine; inde assantur in clibano vel craticula."

[c] Lib. vii. c. 3. "Ficatum præcidis ad cannam, infundis in liquamine; piper, ligusticum, baccas lauri duas; involves in omento, et in craticula assas et inferes."

[d] Lib. vii. c. 1. "*Callum, lumbelli, codiculæ, ungellæ.* Piper, liquamen, laser; apponis."

[e] Lib. vii. c. 2. "Sumen elixas, de cannis surclas, sale asperges et in furnum mittis vel in craticula subassas; teres piper, ligusticum; liquamen, merum et passum, amylo obligas et sumen perfundis."

[f] Lib. xiv. epig. 221.

Apician Ofellæ.—Take the bone out of the *ofellæ*, roll them up, skewer them, and put them into the oven; afterwards boil them slightly, and take them out when they begin to exude their natural gravy; then crisp them over a slow fire on the gridiron so as not to burn them. Then prepare the following sauce: pound pepper, lovage, *cyperus*, cummin; temper with garum and *passum*; put the *ofellæ* and these ingredients into a *cacabus* and stew. When they are done take them out and dry them entirely; sprinkle pepper and serve.[a]

Another way.—Marinade the *ofellæ* in abundant *ænogarum*; then fry. Sprinkle pepper and serve.[b]

Ostian Ofellæ.—Score the ofellæ deep into the skin. Prepare the following marinade: pound pepper, lovage, dill, cummin, silphium (*i.e.* laser), one laurel berry; pour in garum; pour the mixture back into an *angularis* where the *ofellæ* are; let them remain two or three days; take them out, skewer them together crosswise and put them into the oven; when they are done separate them and serve with the following sauce: pound pepper, lovage; pour in garum and *passum* (moderately) to sweeten; make it hot, and thicken with *amylum*.[c]

A *perna*, or ham, would be boiled with figs and bay leaves.[d]

A less eligible plan was adopted for bacon. It was boiled in dill water with oil and salt.[e]

The Pig was treated thus:—

A Roast Pig.—Pound pepper, rue, savory, onion, yolks of boiled eggs, garum, wine, oil. Let the mixture boil. Pour it over the pig and serve.[f]

A Boiled Pig with Cold Sauce.—Pound pepper, carraway, dill, marjoram,

[a] Lib. vii. c. 4. "*Ofellæ Apicianæ.* Ofellas exossas, in rotundum complicas, surclas, ad furnum admoves, postea præduras, levas ut humorem expuant; in craticula igni lento exiccabis ita ne urantur. Teres piper, ligusticum, cyperin, cuminum, liquamine et passo temperabis; cum hoc jure ofellas in cacabum mittis; cum coctæ fuerint, levas et siccas, sine jure, pipere asperso inferes."

[b] Lib. vii. c. 4. "*Aliter ofellas in sartagine*, abundanti œnogaro: piper asperges et inferes."

[c] Lib. viii. c. 4. "*Ofellæ Ostienses.* Designas ofellas in cute ita ut cutis sic remaneat; teres piper, ligusticum, anethum, cuminum, silphium, baccam lauri unam; suffundis liquamen; fricas; in angularem refundis simul cum ofellis; ubi requieverit in condimentis biduo vel triduo, ponis, surclas decussatim et in furnum mittis. Cum coxeris, ofellas quas designaveris, separabis et teres piper, ligusticum; suffundis liquarum, et passum modicum, ut dulce fiat. Cum ferbuerit jus, amylo obligas."

[d] Lib. vii. c. 9.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Lib. viii. c. 7. "Teres piper, rutam, satureiam, cepam, ovorum coctorum media: liquamen, vinum, oleum: bulliat conditura, porcellum in boletari perfundes et inferes."

moderately, pine nuts; pour in vinegar, garum, *carænum*, honey, mustard made up. Drop oil over. Sprinkle pepper and serve.[a]

A Pig with Stuffing.—Bone the pig and clean out the interior. Put therein thrushes, beccaficos, its own interiors cut into mincemeat, *lucanicæ* (see *post*), dates stoned, dried onions, snails taken out of the shells, mallows, beets, leeks, celery, boiled cabbage sprouts, coriander, whole pepper, pine nuts; pour fifteen eggs over this, then peppered garum. Put in three boiled eggs, sew the pig up, and boil slightly, then bake in the oven; then cut it through the back and pour the following sauce over it: pound pepper, rue, garum, *passum*, honey, modicum of oil; boil and thicken with *amylum*.[b]

A Pig with Stuffing.—Clean out the interior of the pig by the throat, and fill with the following stuffing: Pound an ounce of pepper, honey, wine. Put into a *cacabus* and make it hot, break a dry biscuit into bits, and mix up with it. Stir with a twig of green laurel, and boil until the whole is thickened. Fill the pig with this; skewer, stop up with paper, and put into the oven to bake.[c]

How the Romans treated birds and fowls next deserves our consideration.

As "Murray" truly observes of the modern Romans, that they eat all birds, from an eagle to a tomtit, so we see in Apicius that their ancestors just as proportionately appreciated the feathered creation, affecting the whole of it, from ostriches to *avicellæ*—that endearing term being as rife in our artist's book as *uccelletti* is upon the tongue of the modern Italian.

Birds were roasted, boiled, and stewed, but much more generally were served in the latter fashion.

The same remark also applies to fowls or chickens, ducks, and geese.

[a] Lib. viii. c. 7. "*Jus frigidum in porcellum elixum ita facies:* Teres piper, careum, anethum, origanum modice, nucleos pineos; suffundes acetum, liquamen, carænum, mel, sinape factum; superstillabis oleum, piper asperges et inferes."

[b] Ibid. "*In porcellum hortulanum.* Porcellus hortulanus exossatur per gulam in modum utris, mittitur in eo pulsus isiciatus, particulatim concisus, turdi, ficedulæ, isicia de pulpa sua, lucanicæ, dactyli exossati, fabriles bulbi, cochleæ exemptæ, malvæ, betæ, porri, apium, coliculi elixi, coriandrum, piper integrum, nuclei; ova quindecim superinfunduntur; liquamen piperatum; ova mittuntur tria, et consuitur et præduratur; in furno assatur. Deinde à dorso scinditur, et jure hoc perfunditur: piper teritur, ruta; liquamen, passum, mel, oleum modicum; cum bullierit, amylum mittitur."

[c] Ibid. "*Porcellus assus tractomellitus:* porcellum curabis, à gutture exenteras, siccas. Teres piperis unciam, mel, vinum: impones, ut ferveat, tractam siccatam confranges, et partibus cacabo permisces; agitabis surculo lauri viridis; tandiu coques, donec lenis fiat et impinguet. Hac impensa porcellum imples, surclas, obturas charta, in furnum mittes, exornas et inferes."

Fowls are often stuffed.

Some birds are baked in pasties.

The Romans also had the notion of giving their birds a preparatory boiling with their feathers on.[a]

This was done to prevent the loss of fat which would ensue upon the plucking of the bird in its raw state, "ne liquescant," says our great authority.[b]

"All birds," says he in the same passage, "will be better if they are boiled with their feathers on before being gutted."[c]

Sometimes the birds are steamed for the same purpose.[d]

In regard to the stuffing of fowls it is more generally permanent, but sometimes it is taken out after the cooking is complete, *e.g.* olives are so served.[e]

Recipes for Poultry, &c.

A Duck Stewed with Turnips.—Stew the duck with turnips, water, salt, and dill in an *olla* until the duck is half done. Take the turnips out; mash them. Take the duck out also, and put into a *cacabus* with oil, garum, and a bunch of leek and coriander. Then put in the turnips over the duck. Pour in *defrutum* to colour. Prepare the following sauce: pepper, coriander, laser-root; pour in vinegar and the broth of the duck itself, and make it hot, and thicken with *amylum*. Pour over the duck and the turnips.[f]

Amongst sauces for "various birds" we find the following:—

Pepper, lovage, parsley, dry mint, dill flowers; pour in wine, add filberts and roasted almonds, honey (moderately). Temper with wine, vinegar, and garum. Put oil in, and warm in a *pultarium*. Stir with green celery and catmint. Score the bird; pour over the sauce and serve.[g]

[a] Lib. vi. c. 3. [b] Lib. vi. c. 7. [c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid. [e] Lib. vi. c. 6.

[f] Lib. vi. c. 2. "*Gruem, vel Anatem ex rapis.* Lavas, ornas, et in olla elixabis cum aqua, sale et anetho, dimidia coctura. Rapas quoque, ut exbromari [*expromari*, Lister; *exbromari*, Schuch: from the MSS. Βρόμος, seu Βρῶμος, virus; Βρομώδης, virosus, immundus.] possint, levabis de olla, et iterum lavabis, et in cacabum mittis anatem cum oleo et liquamine, et fasciculo porri et coriandri; rapam lotam et minutatim concisam desuper mittis, facies ut coquatur modica coctura, mittis defrutum ut coloret. Jus tale parabis: Piper, cuminum, coriandrum, laseris radicem; suffundis acetum, et jus de suo sibi; reexinanies super anatem et ferveat; cum ferbuerit, amylo obligabis, et super rapas adjicies; piper asperges et appones"

[g] Lib. vi. c. 5. "Piper, ligusticum, petroselinum, mentham siccam, anethi flores; vinum suffundes; adjicies ponticam vel amygdala tosta, mel modicum; vino, aceto, et liquamine temperabis; oleum in pultarium super jus mittis, calefacies; agitabis jus apio viridi et nepeta; avem incaraxas et perfundis."

A Sauce for a Boiled Goose.—Pepper, carroway, cummin, celery seed, thyme, onion, laser-root, pine nuts roasted, honey, vinegar, garum, and oil.[a]

A Stewed Duck.—Stew the duck in pepper, dried onion, lovage, cummin, celery seed, plums or damsons stoned, *must*, vinegar, garum, defrutum, oil.[b]

For a Boiled Partridge.—Pepper, lovage, celery seed, mint, myrtle berries, and raisins, honey, wine, vinegar, garum, and oil; use this cold.[c]

For a Roast Pigeon.—Pepper, lovage, coriander, carraway, dry onion, mint, yolk of egg, dates, honey, vinegar, garum, oil, and wine.[d]

For a Boiled Pigeon.—Pepper, lovage, parsley, celery seed, rue, pine nuts, dates, honey, vinegar, garum, mustard, and oil (moderately).[e]

For a Guinea Fowl.—First boil the fowl, then sprinkle with laser and pepper, and roast; prepare the following sauce:—Pound pepper, cummin, coriander seed, laser root, rue, dates, pine nuts; pour vinegar, honey, garum, and temper with oil; make hot, and thicken with *amylum*; pour over the fowl, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[f]

Cold Sauce for a Boiled Chicken.—Put into a mortar dill seed, dry mint, laser root, and pound; pour in vinegar; add dates; pour in garum; add a modicum of mustard and oil; temper with defrutum; pour the sauce over the chicken.[g]

A Roast Chicken, mariné.—First boil the fowl, then dry on a cloth, score, and marinade in a mixture of honey and garum; then roast; pour over its own gravy in boiling; sprinkle pepper and serve.[h]

[a] Lib. vi. c. 5. "Piper, careum, cuminum, apii semen, thymum, cepam, laseris radicem, nucleos tostos; mel, acetum, liquamen et oleum."

[b] Lib. vi. c. 2. "Piper, cepam siccam, ligusticum, cuminum, apii semen, prima vel Damascena enucleata, mustum, acetum, liquamen, defrutum, oleum, et coques."

[c] Lib. vi. c. 3. "Piper, ligusticum, apii semen, mentham, myrtham et baccas, vel uvam passam; mel, vinum, acetum, liquamen et oleum; uteris frigido."

[d] Lib. vi. c. 4. "Piper, ligusticum, coriandrum, careum, cepam siccam, mentham, ovi vitellum, caryotam, mel, acetum, liquamen, oleum et vinum."

[e] Ibid. "Piper, ligusticum, petroselinum, apii semen, rutam, nucleos, caryotam; mel, acetum, liquamen, sinape, et oleum modice."

[f] Lib. vi. c. 9. "*Pullus Numidicus.* Pullum curas, elixas, lavas (*potius* levas), lasere et pipere aspersum assas; teres piper, cuminum, coriandri semen, laseris radicem, rutam, caryotam, nucleos; suffundis acetum, mel, liquamen; et oleo temperabis. Cum ferbuerit, amylo obligas, pullum perfundis, piper aspergis et inferes."

[g] Ibid. "*In pullo elixo jus crudum.* Adjicies in mortarium anethi semen, mentham siccam, laseris radicem, suffundis acetum; adjicies caryotam; refundis liquamen; sinapis modicum et oleum; defruto temperas, et sic mittis."

[h] Ibid. "Mellis modice, liquamine temperabis: lavas (*lege* levas) et sabano mundo siccas, charaxas, et jus scissuris infundis ut combibat; et cum combiberit, assabis et suo sibi jure pertangis, piper asperges et inferes."

Sauce for a Roast Chicken.—Modicum of laser, six scruples of pepper, an *acetabulum* of oil, an *acetabulum* of garum, a modicum of parsley.[a]

A Stuffed Chicken.—Draw the chicken so that nothing remains in it; then make the following stuffing:—Pound pepper, lovage, ginger, the liver, &c. of the chicken chopped up, boiled *alica* (grits), pounded pig's brains (stewed); break eggs, and beat up the whole mass; temper with garum, and put in oil (moderately), whole pepper, pine nuts (abundantly); fill the fowl with this stuffing, so that it have room for expansion (*laxamentum*).[b]

Having disposed of the roast and the boiled, I will now take four forms of known cookery of more pretension, or at least greater complication. I mean the *isicia*, the *patina*, the *minutal*, and the *salacacabia*. The first are in reality *rissoles*, *croquettes*, and *quenelles*, the materials being pounded.

The fish *isicia* have been described. The meat *isicia* (*quenelles* and *croquettes*) remain. Of these the Roman *quenelles* were made as follows:—

Peacock, pheasant, rabbit, chicken, or sucking pig were pounded in a mortar and then simmered in sauces of the usual Roman type, generally pepper, garum, and wine, until the mass was set.[c]

The Roman *kromeskys* were called *isicia omentata*, because they were covered with a pig's caul and thus fried with wine.[d]

The *patina*, which took some variation of form, was a great favourite at Rome. Everybody remembers what Sanga in the "Eunuch" says,—"Jamdudum animus est in patinis."[e]

We have already seen this dish so far as regards fish. There it was a stew

[a] Lib. vi. c. 9. "*Pullus paroptus.* Laseris modicum, piperis scrupulos sex, olei acetabulum, liquaminis acetabulum, petroselini modicum."

[b] Ibid. "*Pullus farsilis.* Pullum sic ne aliquid in eo remaneat à cervice expedies; teres piper, ligustinam, zingiber, pulpam cæsam, alicam elixam; teres cerebellum ex jure coctum; ova confringes et commisces ut unum corpus efficias; liquamine temperas, et oleum modice mittis, piper integrum, nucleos abundantes, fac impensam et imples pullum, ita ut laxamentum habeat."

[c] Lib. ii. c. 2. "Isicia de pavo primum locum habent. . . . . Item secundum locum habent de phasianiis. Item tertium locum habent de cuniculis. Item quartum locum habent de pullis. Item quintum locum habent de porcello tenero." For the pounding see lib. ii. c. 1; for the rest of the process see chap. ii. of the same book. "Teres piper, ligusticum, pyrethrum minimum; suffundes liquamen, temperas aqua cisternina, dum inducet, exinanies in cacabo, tum isicia ad vaporem ignis pones, et caleat et sic sorbendum inferes."

[d] Lib. ii. c. 1. "*Isicia omentata.* Pulpam concisam teres cum medulla siliginis in vino infusæ; piper et liquamen si velis, et baccam myrtheam exenteratam simul conteres. Pusilla isicia formabis; intus nucleis et pipere positis; involuta omento subassabis cum carœno."

[e] Act iv. sc. 9, v. 46.

merely; we shall now see it in a more complex shape, and it will hereafter appear again as a *compôte* of fruit.

Recipes for various Patinæ.

An every-day Patina.—Pound boiled brains, then pepper, cummin, laser, with garum, *carænum* with milk and eggs. Boil over a slow fire or in a bain marie.[a]

Another Patina.—Roast pine apples and walnuts, and pound them with honey, pepper, garum, milk, and eggs, and a little oil. Boil as before.[b]

Another Patina.—Pound the stalk of lettuce with pepper, garum, *carænum*, water, and oil. Boil, bind with eggs, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[c]

A cold Patina of Asparagus.—Take cleaned asparagus and pound them gently in a mortar: pour in water and pound again. Then strain through a strainer. Then prepare the following mixture: pound six scruples of pepper, add thereto garum, and pound gently and slowly. Put this into a *cacabus* with one cyathus of wine, one cyathus of *passum*, three ounces of oil, and boil. Then grease a *patina*, put therein the juice of asparagus, mix therewith six eggs with *ænogarum*. Lay therein beccaficos prepared for cooking. Cover the *patina* up with charcoal for braizing, and cook. When done sprinkle pepper, and serve.[d]

A Patina of Gourds.—Lay gourds boiled and fried in a patina; pour over them *cuminatum*, adding thereto a modicum of oil. Boil and serve.[e]

These examples of the *patina* proper speak for themselves, and I will only call the reader's attention to this one fact: eggs always enter into its composition, milk sometimes is present, sometimes is absent.

The *minutal*, examples of which follow, contains neither milk nor eggs; but biscuit,

[a] Lib. iv. c. 2. "*Patina quotidiana.* Cerebella elixata teres, tum piper, cuminum, laser cum liquamine, carænum cum lacte et ovis, ad ignem levem vel ad aquam calidam coques."

[b] Ibid. "*Patina versatilis.* Nucleos, nuces fractas, torres eas, et teres cum melle, pipere, liquamine, lacte et ovis; olei modicum."

[c] Ibid. Thyrsum lactucæ teres cum pipere, liquamine, caræno, aqua, oleo; coques; ovis obligabis, piper asperges et inferes."

[d] Ibid. "Accipies asparagos purgatos, in mortario fricabis; aquam suffundes, perfricabis; per colum colabis; et mittes ficedulas curatas; teres in mortario piperis scrupulos vi.; adjicies liquamen, fricabis, vini cyathum i., passi cyathum i., olei unc. iii., mittes in cacabum, illic ferveant; perunges patinam; in eâ ova vi. cum œnogaro misces; cum succo asparagi impones cineri calido, misces impensam suprascriptam; tunc ficedulas compones; coques; piper asperges et inferes."

[e] Ibid. "Cucurbitas elixas et frictas in patina compones, cuminatum superfundes, modico oleo superadjecto; fervere facias, et inferes."

or some other kind of bread, is always an element. The materials also are chopped or minced, not pounded.

A Marine Minutal.—Stew your fishes in a *cacabus*, in garum, oil, wine, with leeks and coriander chopped up. Then take out the bones and mince the fishes very small. Put in also sea *urticæ*, washed well and boil. When they are done pour in mixture made as follows, viz.: pound pepper, lovage, marjoram; pour over garum, some of the mixture in which the fish has been boiled; empty the whole into the *cacabus;* boil the whole up, break a piece of biscuit to bind; shake up; sprinkle pepper, and serve.[a]

An Apician Minutal.—Put into a *cacabus* oil, garum, wine, leeks, mint, little fishes cut up small, cocks' testicles, and pigs' kernels. Stew all these well down, and when they are done make and pour in the following mixture, viz.: pound pepper, lovage, green coriander or coriander seed; pour over garum; add a *modicum* of honey and some of the mixture in which the whole has been boiled; temper with wine and honey; boil and thicken with broken biscuits; stir it up altogether; sprinkle with pepper, and serve.[b]

Now comes the Salacacabia. Upon this I will only remark that cheese and bread are essential elements in it: that it was evidently a small dish from the diminutive *cacabulus* being used in its dressing, and that it was always *set* by the sudden application of cold.

A Salacacabia.—Pound together in soft water pepper, mint, parsley, dry pennyroyal, cheese, pine nuts, honey, vinegar, garum, yolks of eggs. Then prepare the dish as follows: lay in a *cacabulus* bread previously soaked in *posca*, cow-milk cheese, cucumbers, interposing pine nuts between the two; lay over them dry onions and fowl's liver chopped small; then pour over the whole the mixture first

[a] Lib. iv. c. 3. "*Minutal marinum.* Pisces in cacabum mittes; adjicies liquamen, oleum, vinum, cocturam; porros capitatos, coriandrum, minutatim concides; isiciola de piscibus minuta facies; et pulpas piscis cocti concerpis (?); urticas marinas bene lotas mittes; hæc omnia cum cocta fuerint, teres piper, ligusticum, origanum, fricabis; suffundes liquamen, jus de suo sibi, exinanies in cacabum; cum ferbuerit, tractam confringes, obligas, agitas; piper asperges et inferes."

[b] Ibid. "*Minutal Apicianum.* Oleum, liquamen, vinum, porrum capitatum, mentham, pisciculos, isiciola minuta, testiculos[1] caponum, glandulas porcellinas. Hæc omnia in se coquantur. Teres piper, ligusticum, coriandrum viridem vel semen; suffundis liquamen; adjicies mellis modicum et jus de suo sibi; vino et melle temperabis; facias ut ferveat. Cum ferbuerit, tractam confringes, obligas, coagitas; piper asperges, et inferes."

[1] This expression may require a comment. See Varro de R. R. lib. iii. c. 9, quoted by Dr. Lister. "Gallos castrant, ut sint capi, candenti ferro inurentes calcaria ad infima crura, usque dum rumpantur."

mentioned, and boil. After this set the whole by placing the *cacabus* over cold water.[a]

Apician Salacacabia.—Pound celery seed, dry pennyroyal, dry mint, ginger, green coriander, stoned raisins; add honey, vinegar, oil, and wine. Prepare your dish as follows: place in a *cacabulus* three slices of Picentine bread (a sponge cake), lay between them fowl's livers, kid's kernels, Vestine cheese, pine nuts, cucumbers, dry onions chopped up; pour the before-mentioned mixture over and boil; then set by, putting the *cacabulus* into a vessel fixed with snow.[b]

The Romans cultivated the pastry of meat or bird, and this seems the only form in which they used dough or paste.

Apicius gives an example of a ham pie.[c] At the Cæna Metelli there are pasties of fowl, "altilia ex farina involuta," and our own author recommends the same method to be applied to storks and herons, *i.e.* if *aves hircosæ*, the term which he uses, mean those birds.[d]

Pretty well all our present vegetables were *exploilés* by the Romans, who were great vegetarians, as I have before remarked. They boiled and sometimes stewed these vegetables. Mushrooms, the large and the small, were in great favour.

The truffle, though much appreciated, was regarded as yielding the palm to the large mushroom (*boletus*). In the opinion of Tiberius,[e] the boletus, the beccafico, the oyster, and the thrush (grape-fed, of course,) could only be rivalled by each other.

Raw salads, as with ourselves and the French, were in vogue; but at the same time the ancient, like the modern, Italian, affected them boiled also.

Besides the simpler forms of cooking vegetables, there are certain complicated

[a] Lib. iv. c. 1. "Piper, mentham, petroselinum, apium, pulegium aridum, caseum, nucleos pineos: mel, acetum, liquamen, ovorum vitella, aquam recentem, conteres; panem ex posca maceratum exprimes: caseum bubulum, cucumeres in cacabulo compones, interpositis nucleis, mittes concisas cepas aridas minutim, jecuscula gallinarum; jus profundes, super frigidam collocabis et sic appones."

[b] Ibid. "*Salacacabia Apiciana.* Adjicies in mortario apii semen, pulegium aridum, mentham aridam, zingiber, coriandrum viridem, uvam passam enucleatam; mel, acetum, oleum et vinum; conteres. Adjicies in cacabulo panis Picentini tria frusta; interpones pulpas pulli, glandulas hædinas, caseum Vestinum, nucleos pineos, cucumeres, cepas aridas minute concisas; jus superfundes: Insuper nivem sub ora asperges et inferes."

[c] Lib. vii. c. 9. "*Pernam:* ubi eam, cum caricis plurimis elixaveris, et tribus lauri foliis, detracta cute tessellatim incides et melle complebis; deinde farinam oleo subactam conteges et ei corium reddas, et cum farina cocta fuerit, eximas furno et inferes."

[d] Lib. vi. c. 6. "Avem sapidiorem et altiorem facies et ei pinguedinem servabis, si eam farina oleo subacta contectam in furnum miseris."

[e] Suet. c. 42.

stews of meat and vegetables given by Apicius, which I will omit. These are *lenticulæ*, *conchicla*, &c.

Recipes for Vegetables.

Turnips.—Boil and then mash; serve with the following sauce:—Pound a great deal of cummin, less of rue, Parthian laser; add honey, vinegar, garum, *defrutum*, and oil (moderately); make it hot, and pour over.[a]

Another Way.—Drop oil over the turnips after they are boiled; if you like, add vinegar.[b]

Olus Molle.—Take lettuce leaves and onions, boil them in nitrated water, press the water out, and cut them up small; then serve with the following sauce:—Pound pepper, lovage, celery seed, dry mint, onion.[c]

Raw Salads, Rustic Herbs.—Eat with garum, oil, vinegar dropped over them by hand.[d]

Chicory and Lettuces (*together*).—Eat with garum and oil (moderately). Use chopped onion instead of lettuce in the spring.[e]

Artichokes.—Boil them; eat with garum, oil, and eggs cut up; or with pepper, cummin, garum, and oil.[f]

Truffles (*tubera*).—Scrape truffles, and boil, sprinkle salt, skewer, and roast slightly. Then put into a *cacabus* oil, garum, *carænum*, wine, pepper, honey, and make it hot, and thicken with *amylum*; pour over the truffles, and serve.[g]

Onions.—Boil large onions and mash them. Serve with the following sauce; thyme, marjoram, date, honey, vinegar, *defrutum*, garum, oil (moderately), sprinkle pepper.[h]

[a] Lib. iii. c. 13. "*Rapas sive napos*, elixatos exprimes; deinde teres cuminum plurimum, rutam minus, laser Parthicum, mel, acetum, liquamen, defrutum, et oleum modice; fervere facies et inferes."

[b] Ibid. "*Rapas sive napos*, elixas, inferes; oleum superstillabis; si voles, acetum addes."

[c] Lib. iii. c. 15. "Olus molle ex foliis lactucarum cum cepis, coques ex aqua nitrata, expressum concides minutatim. In mortario teres piper, ligusticum, apii semen, mentham siccam, cepam; liquamen, oleum, vinum."

[d] Lib. iii. c. 16. "*Herbæ rusticæ.* Liquamine, oleo, aceto à manu."

[e] Lib. iii. c. 18. "*Intuba ac lactucæ.* Intuba ex liquamine et oleo modico; modice cepa concisa pro lactucis vere."

[f] Lib. iii. c. 19. "Carduos liquamine, oleo et ovis concisis. *Ibid. Aliter carduos elixos.* Piper, cuminum, liquamen, et oleum."

[g] Lib. vii. c. 14. "Tubera radis, elixas, sale aspergis, et surculo infiges, subassas, et mittes in cacabum oleum, liquamen, carænum, vinum, piper, et mel; cum ferbuerit amylo obligas, tubera exornas et inferes."

[h] Lib. vii. c. 12. "Bulbos elixos, in pultarium pressos, mittis thymum, origanum, caryotum, mel, acetum, defrutum, liquamen, oleum modice; piper aspergis et inferes."

Our artist, or an annotator, apparently quoting Varro, adds, in speaking of this last dish, "they are served at wedding suppers, but with pine nuts, or with the juice of *eruca* (rocket), and pepper."[a]

Mushrooms (*small*).—Stew small mushrooms in salt, oil, wine, green coriander cutup, and whole pepper.[b]

Boletus (*large mushroom*).—Boil in *carænum* with a bunch of green coriander. As soon as it is hot serve, taking out the coriander.[c]

Carrots and Parsnips.—Fry carrots and parsnips, and serve with *ænogarum* or with salt, oil, and vinegar."[d] Cut up and stew carrots in *cuminatum* (i. e. cummin and garum) and oil.[e]

Stewed Peas.—Boil peas until the coats have come off. Then put in leek, coriander, and cummin, and boil again. Then pour in the following sauce, viz. pound pepper, lovage, carraway, dill, green basil, pour in garum, temper with wine, make it hot; when it is hot shake it and pour it over the peas.[f]

French Beans (*phaseoli*).—Boil simply as usual.[g] Boil them with the bean in the pod, and season them with pepper, garum, and *carænum*.[h]

Cucumbers.—Pare cucumbers (raw), and serve in garum or *ænogarum*.[i]

Another way.—Pare cucumbers, and stew them with celery seed, garum, and oil; sprinkle pepper, and serve.[k]

Melons.—Eat with pepper, pennyroyal, honey, or passum, garum, vinegar. Sometimes silphium is added.[l]

[a] Lib. vii. c. 12. "In legitimis nuptiis in cœna ponuntur, sed et cum nucleis pineis aut cum erucæ succo et pipere."

[b] Lib. iii. c. 20. "Spongioli elixi, ex sale, oleo, mero, coriandro viridi conciso, et pipere integro.

[c] Lib. vii. c. 13. *Boletos, fungos.* "Carœno, fasciculo coriandri viridis; ubi ferbuerint, exempto fasciculo inferes."

[d] Lib. iii. c. 21. "Carotæ seu pastinacæ frictæ œnogaro inferuntur."

[e] Ibid. "Carotas elixatas concisas in cuminato, oleo modico coques."

[f] Lib. v. c. 3. "*Pisum* coques, cum despumaverit, porrum, coriandrum et cuminum supramittis. Teres piper, ligusticum, careum, anethum, ocymum viridem, suffundis liquamen; vino et liquamine temperabis, facias ut ferveat; cum ferbuerit, agitabis; si quid defuerit, mittis et inferes."

[g] Lib. v. c. 8. "Simpliciter ut solet."

[h] Ibid. "Elixati sumpto semine, cum lobis in patella fæniculo viridi pipere, et liquamine, et carœno modico."

[i] Lib. iii. c. 6. "*Cucumeres;* rasos sive ex liquamine sive ex ænogaro sine ructu ac gravitudine teneriores senties."

[k] Ibid. "*Cucumeres;* rasos apii semine, liquamine et oleo elixabis, obligabis, piper asperges et inferes."

[l] Ibid. c. 7. "*Pepones et melones.* Piper, pulegium, mel vel passum, liquamen, acetum. Interdum et silphium accedit."

Sprouts.—Stew with cummin, salt, old wine and oil; add, if you like, pepper and lovage.[a]

Leeks.—Boil full sized leeks in salt, oil, and water. Take out, and serve with oil, garum, and wine.[b]

Pulmentaria[c] (*Vegetable Stews*).—Boil beets (cut small) and leeks; then lay them in a *patina*. Make the following mixture: pound pepper and cummin; pour in garum and *passum* to give it a sweetness. Add the mixture to the beets and leeks, and make it hot. When hot serve.[d]

Varro's Beets.—Take beets (the best are the black), scrape them, and stew them down in *mulsum*, with a *modicum* of salt and oil (or you may boil them in salt, in water, and in oil). You will thus make a broth which will be better if a fowl has been stewed down in it.[e]

The Sweets of the Romans are interesting.

The examples which I shall give exhibit *inter alia* a sort of custard and the omelette in its first *ébauche;* and I have transferred to this section of our subject an illustration of the *patina* of fruit.

Sweet Dishes and Fruits.

Domestic Sweets.—Stone dates, and fill them with pounded nuts or pine nuts or pepper. Touch up with salt outside. Fry in purified honey.[f]

Another way.—Take crumb of the best wheaten bread, and make large sippets. Steep in milk, fry in oil, pour honey over, and serve.[g]

[a] Lib. iii. c. 9. "*Cimas;* cuminum, salem, vinum vetus, oleum; si voles addes piper et ligusticum—"

[b] Lib. iii. c. 10. "Porros maturos fieri; pugnum salis, aquam, et oleum mixtum facies; et ibi coques et eximinies; cum oleo, liquamine, et mero inferes."

[c] This was a dish upon which country servants were fed. Paulus (Dig. xxxiii. tit. 7, c. 18, § 3) says: "Item, cacabos et patinas in instrumento fundi esse dicimus quia sine his pulmentarium coqui non potest." Ulpian (ibid. c. 12, § 5) says: "Quæ pulmentaria rusticis coquant."

[d] Lib. iii. c. 2. *Pulmentarium ad ventrem.* "Betas minutas et porros requietos elixabis, in patina compones. Teres piper, cuminum; suffundes liquamen, passum, ut quædam dulcedo sit; facias ut ferveat, cum ferbuerit inferes."

[e] Ibid. "*Betacios Varrones.* Varro. 'betacios sed nigros quorum detersas radices et mulso decoctas cum sale modico et oleo (vel sale, aqua et oleo) in se coques, jusculum facies et potabis;' melius erit si in eo pullus sit decoctus."

[f] Lib. vii. c. 11. "*Dulcia domestica.* Palmulas vel dactylos, excepto semine, nuce vel nucleis, vel pipere trito infarcies, sale foris contingis, frigis in melle cocto et inferes."

[g] Ibid. "*Aliter dulcia.* Siligineos rasos frangis, et buccellas majores facias, in lacte infundis, frigis in oleo, et mel superfundis et inferes."

Peppered Sweets.—Take semolina, boil in hot water until it becomes a thick gruel; then spread it out in a *patella*, and let it get cold. Then cut in pieces, like *dulcia*, and fry in the best oil. Take it out, pour honey over, sprinkle pepper, and serve. You will do better if you boil the semolina in milk instead of water.[a]

Tyropatina.—Put as much milk into a *patina* as it will hold. Temper the milk well with honey. Beat up eggs in the milk (five to a sextarius of milk); pour into the *patina*. Boil over a slow fire. When it is set sprinkle pepper, and serve.[b]

Sponge Eggs.—Beat up four eggs in a *hemina* of milk and an ounce of oil. Put a *modicum* of oil into a *patella*, and make it boil up. Then add thereto the ingredients before prepared. When it is done on one side turn it out into a dish, pour honey over it, sprinkle pepper, and serve.[c]

A Patina of Pears.—Boil pears and take out the middle; then pound them with pepper, cummin, honey, *passum*, garum, a *modicum* of oil; break eggs over, and beat up the whole, and boil them; sprinkle pepper, and serve.[d]

Patina of Quinces.—Stew quinces with leeks, honey, garum, oil (rubbed down),[e] or stew them in honey only.

The Romans exhibited the same passion as the modern Italians for hog puddings and sausages, known to them under the names of *botelli*, *lucanicæ*, *farcimina*, &c. The following examples will illustrate them:—

A Botellus.—Make a *botellus* thus;—To yolks of boiled eggs and pine-nuts, chopped up small, add onion and leek cut up; mix therewith pounded pepper, garum, and wine, and stuff the gut and cook.[f]

[a] Lib. vii. c. 11. "*Dulcia piperata.* Accipies similam, coques in aqua calida, ita ut durissimam pultem facias; deinde in patellam expandis; cum refrixerit concidis quasi dulcia et frigis in oleo optimo, levas, perfundis mel, piper aspergis et inferes. Melius feceris si lac pro aqua miseris."

[b] Ibid. "*Tyropatina.* [Schuch reads *tripatinam*, and refers to Pliny, xxxv. 162.] Accipies lac, adversus quod patinam æstimabis; temperabis lac cum melle quasi ad lactantia; ova quinque ad sextarium mittis (sed ad heminam ova trias, in lacte dissolvis ita ut unum corpus facias; in cumana colas et igni lento coques, cum duxerit ad se, piper aspergis et inferes."

[c] Ibid. "*Ova spongia ex lacta.* Ova quatuor, lactis heminam, olei unciam, in se dissolvis, ita ut unum corpus facias, in patellam subtilem adjicies olei modicum, facies ut bulliat, et adjicies impensam quam parasti. Una parte cum fuerit coctum in disco vertes, melle perfundis, piper aspergis et inferes."

[d] Lib. iv. c. 2 "Pyra elixa et purgata è medio, teres cum pipere, cumino, melle, passo, liquamine, oleo modico; ovis mixtis patinam facies, piper super asperges et inferes."

[e] Lib. iv. c. 2. "Mala Cydonia cum porris, melle, liquamine, oleo defricato, coques et inferes. Vel elixata ex melle."

[f] Lib. ii. c. 3. "Botellum sic facies. Ex ovi vitellis coctis, nucleis pineis concisis, cepam addes, porrum concisum, jus crudum misces, piper minutum, et sic intestinum farcies, adjicies liquamen et vinum et sic coques."

Lucanicæ are made in the same manner, with the addition of pounded pork and fat in abundance, whole pepper, and savory herbs. They are to be smoked.[a]

Farcimina, cooked.—Pound eggs and brains, pine-nuts, pepper, garum, laser (moderately), and with these fill the gut; boil; afterwards fry and serve.[b]

Another way.—Pound boiled *alica* with meat, pounded and cut up, pepper, garum, and pine-nuts; stuff the gut and boil it; then fry with salt, and serve with mustard.[c]

There are other dishes detailed by Apicius, but upon which I will not trouble the reader with any detail.

The snail was formerly, as now, a favourite in Italy. It is to be found in our author fried and sauced in various ways.[d]

Eggs are given as fried and boiled, in either case being eaten with sauces.[e]

I must not omit mention of the gruel of Rome—the *pultes*. It is a curious dish, having for its foundation *alica* (wheat grits) or *simila* (semola or semolina), flavoured either with herbs or brains, and *isicia* boiled with it.[f]

In another form it is milk and biscuit boiled together (pultes tracto galatæ).[g]

The *ptisana* (also called *succus*) takes barley grits for its foundation, and is either a barley water made tasteful by being boiled with herbs and vinegar, wine and oil, the whole being diluted and strained, or it is boiled up with herbs,[h] and is unstrained or undiluted.[i]

In obedience to the laws of space, my enumeration and description are now ended.

In my extracts from Apicius I have, of course, not given, and could not give, every dish formulated by him. I have only endeavoured to make a selection, which, though moderate in compass, would enable the reader to form a true conception of the *cuisine bourgeoise*, the every-day cookery, of Rome.

[a] Lib. ii. c. 4. "*Lucanicarum confectio.* Teritur piper, cuminum, satureia, ruta, petroselinum, condimentum, baccæ lauri liquamen, et admiscetur pulpa bene tunsa, ita ut denuo bene cum ipso subtrito fricetur, cum liquamine admixto, pipere integro et abundante pinguedine, et nucleis. Farcies intestinum perquam tenuatim productum et sic ad fumum suspenditur."

[b] Lib. ii. c. 5. "Ova et cerebella teres, nucleos pineos, piper, liquamen, laser modicum; et his intestinum implebis, elixas, postea assas, et inferes."

[c] Ibid. "Aliter, coctam alicam et tritam cum pulpa concisa et trita una cum pipere et liquamine, et nucleis; farcies intestinum et elixabis; deinde cum sale assabis et cum sinape inferes."

[d] Lib. vii. c. 16.

[e] Lib. vii. c. 17.

[f] Lib. v. c. 1.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Lib. v. c. 5.

[i] Ibid.

If I have done so with sufficiency and exactness, the reader will have seen that, after all, the differences between the ancient and modern styles are not of principle but of detail. In this, I think, much of the interest which is attached to the subject may be considered to exist.

The Roman had broths like the old French *soupe* before the *potages* were invented. An instance, as we have seen, appears in our author.

They cooked their fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetables in manners more or less identical with our own.

Their sweets present less similarity, but there are resemblances even in them.

The dishes called *Patina*, *minutal*, and *Salacacabia*, though, as we shall see, they survived into the middle ages and were in favour at court, have now no modern representatives; and I do not propose either to advocate or palliate them.[a] They are out of the region of modern cookery, and will find no new friends.

The Apician command to take "quæcunque optima fuerint,"[b] and add them all together into one undistinguishable mass, made a *Salmigondis* which modern prudence cannot contemplate unmoved, and which even a Roman stomach must have had cause to rue.

It was of these dishes that the *soi-disant* stoic Seneca observes:—"I expect that they will soon be put on table ready chewed for us, for there is very little difference between so doing and what the cook does now."[c]

There are other points of repulsion in the made dishes of Rome; but, these lying chiefly in the juxtaposition of materials, are after all exceptional sallies of the cook more than the property of the *cuisine* itself; and it must be said that the French system of *cuisine* which we now follow has been much chastened of late years, while it was in itself a softened copy of the old Italian

[a] "Des incongruités de bonne chère," to use the words of Dorante, in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 4e Acte, Sc. 1. Ovid, with questionable taste, introduces Tisiphone making a patina of moral ingredients, after the approved fashion of the Roman cook. Metam. lib. iv. v. 500 et seqq.

"Attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni
Oris cerberei spumas et virus echidnæ,
Erroresque vagos cœcæque oblivia mentis,
Et scelus et lacrimas rabiemque et cædis amorem,
Omniâ *trita* simul, quæ sanguine mixta recenti,
Coxerat ære cavo, viridi versata cicuta."

[b] In the *Patina Apiciana*, lib. iv. c. 2.

[c] Epist. xcv. "Expecto jam ut manducata ponantur. Quantulo autem hoc minus est, testas excerpere atque ossa, et dentium operâ coquum fungi?"

school, which delighted in stately shows, in other words, in dishes of incongruous materials.[a]

At the present time the existing Italian *cuisine*, though immeasurably modified in comparison with its ancient predecessor, has many and obvious affinities with the school of Apicius.

To return to our author —

The sauces to serve with the dishes, and the ingredients of the stews and the *marinades*, are directed to the object which we still propose to ourselves.

The details also are the same; the *fines herbes*, which it was the mission of Rome to propagate out of their teeming country, still with scarcely an exception retain their old position in the kitchen.

As I have previously intimated, one of these herbs is now no longer applied to our culinary purposes, viz. the laser. This, however, has not been *rejected* by modern cookery; but simply died out ages ago through some inexorable and unexplained influence, natural or political, which will probably ever remain a mystery.

We may conclude, however, from what we know of its application, that its taste was warming, and its effect tonic and invigorating.

That its *goût* was rich may also be inferred from our artist's expression, when he directs a cook to *temper* it with vinegar and garum.[b]

Upon one point there is a large discrepancy between the old and the modern sauces. This is the general absence of meat gravy from the former. But this is not so startling when we consider that our own old-fashioned cookery was in precisely the same predicament, wine in many cases doing duty for prepared meat gravy. I have said that meat gravy was *generally* absent from the sauces. This is true. At times, however, as we have seen, the liquor in which the object had been boiled was added to the sauce. But, though the general exclusion of meat gravy was compensated for by the presence of a larger measure of wine in the sauce, the wine, however, was always combined with the modifying action of garum.

This brings us to the real problem of Roman cookery, the flavour imported by that confection to the sauces with which it intercommunicated. Looking at this from the point of view of the kitchen, it is no other than a grave æsthetical

[a] "Fu quindi in Italia ove diedesi principio alla buona cucina; ma avendola trasmessa ai Francesi, costoro superarono ben presto i loro maestri, perchè venne tale arte coltivato in Francia, mentre decaddero in Italia le scuole della buona gastronomia; quantunque i Francesi non abbiano ancor superato la magnificenza dei banchetti Italiani ch' ebbero luogo sul finir del secolo xv." Cucina Borghese. Torino, G. Favale e C^ia. Editori.

[b] Lib. vii. c. 1. "Laser Cyrenaicum vel Parthicum aceto et liquamine temperatum."

question. If we can solve it in any way, we shall penetrate to the bottom of the Roman system.

Without experiments, which will probably never be made, though Soyer vehemently desired them, we know so much as this, that the materials of the zest were fish, that salt was an adjunct, and that fermentation in the sun was the means of effecting a union more or less chemical between these well-pronounced elements.[a]

This the books tell us distinctly and categorically; but in these facts we have only the fashion of its confection, not what its ultimate taste or flavour was. What was its taste? Saline it certainly was. Its antecedents would demonstrate that; and we know also, from the examples given by our author, that whenever it was applied in cookery salt was never used.[b] And we have further warrant for saying so in a passage of our artist, which orders that small mushrooms, flavoured with a sauce made of garum and other ingredients containing not a symptom of salt, may be served *pro salso*, as something which would produce the same effect and flavour as an appetizer.[c]

But on the other side it was an especial objection to garum when its taste could be said to be "salt" (salsum).[d]

It would have been impossible to reconcile these discordant assertions unless another passage in our author had stepped forward to our assistance.

Apicius, in speaking of salted *echini (oursins de mer)* says, "Infuse them in the best garum, and they will be as fresh as if they were just taken from the tank."[e]

This flavour was therefore not salt in the vulgar and pronounced sense of the word, but was a delicate *nuance*—a *soupçon*, that recalled to the jaded Roman the healthy ozonic air of the fresh and tone-giving seas of Baiæ and Tarentum.

Taking this to be the construction we must put upon garum, we can have no right to blame the Romans for their adherence to this condiment. Analogy helps us to this conclusion. We moderns know that there is a tendency in the human palate to crave a saline confection. Our own addiction to delicate ketchup and coarse anchovy illustrates this.

Upon such a ground, therefore, garum can take its stand, supported by the fixed laws of the palate.

Moreover, it was the property of garum to give spirit to what was subjected to

[a] See *ante*.

[b] Lib. vii. c. 14. "Salem vel liquamen;" *et alibi*.

[c] Lib. iii. c. 20. "*Aliter* spongiolos," &c.

[d] Lib. i. c. 7. "*De liquamine emendando* . . . . . Si salsum fuerit, mellis sextarium mittis et move spica et emendasti."

[e] Lib. ix. c. 8. "Liquamen optimum admisces et quasi recentes apparebunt ita ut à balneo sumi possint."

it, "for," says Apicius, in reference to a sauce composed of honey, vinegar, *defrutum*, &c. "Si fatuum (*fade*) fuerit liquamen adjicies."[a]

The induction which we have arrived at prepares us for what is really marvellous in the history of this confection. Garum charmed the palates of all classes, the high and the low, the instructed and luxurious, the inexperienced and the coarse. It mingled in all sauces, simple or compound, and was equally applicable to the seasonings of fish, flesh, fowl, fruit, or vegetable. No more dissimilar objects for an identical flavouring can be possibly imagined.

But, if we give the Roman credit for retaining the same good judgment in this which he showed in all other matters, the conclusion is necessary that garum was thus omnipresent, because, having been once tasted, the palate could never willingly dissociate itself from it. That which could always adapt itself to the veerings of man's or woman's palate must have been a veritable marvel; and no one should affect surprise that this unexampled adaptability of garum made the ingenious and susceptible Soyer sigh for its revival, and suggest that premiums should be offered for its reinvention.

From garum I will pass on to pepper.

I will premise, that, before the introduction of this Indian seed, the Romans had had recourse to native herbs, which supplied in a degree the effect which the former produces.

These herbs were rue and lovage, and by force of habit they retained their place in the kitchen after the appearance of the other upon the scene.

No modern can affect surprise at the adoption of pepper by the Roman, though its unlimited and indiscriminate application to all things, as we have seen, is of course inexplicable. It was introduced into Rome not long before the time of the naturalist Pliny, and at the first its *brusque* and fiery taste startled the senses of the *bon vivants* of the city.

Pliny himself was of that number. He says, "Usum ejus adeo placuisse mirum est. In aliis quippe suavitas cepit, in aliis species invitavit. Huic nec pomi nec baccæ commendatio est aliqua. Solâ placere amaritudine, et hanc in Indos peti. Quis ille qui primus cibis experiri voluit? Aut cui in appetendâ aviditate esurire non fuit satius? Utcunque sylvestre gentibus suis est, et tamen pondere emitur ut aurum vel argentum."[b] I quote his words textually, because I know of no other literary record which expresses the contemporaneous opinion of a man of a cultivated palate upon a now common culinary zest at its first introduction into European society. Pliny brings our minds in direct communication with a new sensation.

[a] Lib. iv. c. 2.

[b] H. N. lib. xii. c. 14.

But, whatever Pliny might think of pepper, the doctors formed a different opinion. They took its side as a promoter of digestion, suggesting, however, that its use should be discriminated by the seasons, and that winter was better for its application than summer.[a]

The general public, however, contemned the tirade of the polite naturalist, and disregarded the caution of the physician. It decided for itself that the new grain suited winter and summer, and was good for fish, flesh, flower, and fruit, affecting it even like the son of Bedreddin Hassan with a custard.[b]

In strong contrast with this unlimited use of pepper by the Romans, is their chary and timid application of that other pungent seed, mustard.

They shrank from applying this general appetizer to roast or broiled of any sort. They confined it to the boiled and the stewed, and these might be meat, birds, fish, or vegetables. The only exception was the *farcimen* or sausage.[c]

But, though mustard was thus sparingly used, there was no stint in the application of other strong and warming seeds. The carraway, anise, cummin, and smallage or celery seeds, pine-nuts, juniper, laurel, and lentise berries were in constant favour. Dill also had an equal range.

It should be said that all these seeds and berries have a tendency to promote digestion by raising the tone of the stomach, and in this fact we have the dietetic *rationale* of the Roman sauces. The weakened stomach of the luxurious dweller in such a climate as that of Rome was and is, craves, while it enjoys, such sanitary excitements.

It now only remains to consider what were the laws of taste in accordance with which the Romans applied these rich and lavish condiments.

I am sorry to say that I have only been able to discern one law. The combined effect of these elements was to produce sauces which preponderated over the natural savours of the viands. Apicius proudly remarks of a fish which he has flavoured after this method, "Nemo agnoscet quid manducet."[d] There Roman Cookery had attained its *but*.

This in itself is a great divergence from the principles of true taste. We know that an object should be relieved, not dominated and overpowered. And in the case of the Romans this faulty canon led to a further and greater error. The same sauces were poured over roast, boiled, broiled, and baked, without choice or discrimination.[e]

In the aforegoing I have assayed to sketch the Roman system. Such as it was

[a] Dioscorides, lib. ii. c. 189, quoted by Dr. Lister.

[b] See *ante*.

[c] See *ante*.

[d] Lib. iv. c. 2.

[e] See Apicius *passim;* at lib. viii. c. iv. for a sauce "in venationibus omnibus elixis et assis."

it enjoyed a very long term of existence. It did not die with the Empire, but survived into the middle ages and later. We may even suspect that it influenced Anglo-Saxon England before the Conquest.

The Rev. Mr. Cockayne's interesting and excellently edited book[a] gives us some satisfactory gleams of the Anglo-Saxon *cuisine*, as they peer through the mist of physic and quackery.

We may see in them that the English used the mortar like the Romans who had taught them.

In the same book we find the word *briw*, a word which afterwards took the form of brewet, and which means an elaborate stew. To apply the rule of *ex pede Herculem*, this would demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxons practised cookery in the form which the Romans had theretofore imported into the island, and it must not be forgotten that Ælfric's cook boasts of his "fat broth."[b]

This is a better argument in affirmation of the existence of an Anglo-Saxon cookery than what has been advanced in its negation by Dr. Henry the historian. That author somewhere says, that the English before the Conquest had no cookery at all, because they afterwards borrowed from the Normans the words beef, veal, mutton, pork.

The same sort of reasoning would go to prove that the Gallo-Roman was uncombative, because in after days he used no word for war but what his Frankish masters had given him.

But, whatever the Anglo-Saxon cookery may have been, the Anglo-Norman cookery demonstrates itself to be a legitimate connexion of the Apician.

A study of Dr. Pegge's "Forme of Cury" (no inconsiderable effort in itself) shows that the *brewet* was the *patina*, the *minutal* was the *mortrews*, the *salacacabia* was the *payne fondewe*, and the *pultes* were the *farced grewels* of the mediæval cooks.

This cookery of The Forme of Cury, equally unfortunate in names as the Roman, was in full vogue up to the sixteenth century.

When the great Norman barons had fallen by mutual destruction in the Wars of the Roses, the system which they had so long fostered received its first shock.

And when the monastic clergy, whose refined leisure had made them great *cuisiniers*, went to the wall in their turn, the system fell altogether to the ground.

The new families which took the places of the barons and the estates of the

[a] Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England. Rev. T. O. Cockayne, M.A. London. Longmans. 1864-6.

[b] "Ælfrici Colloquium," Thorpe's Analecta, p. 29.

monks now re-asserted more substantial tastes, which would seem to have hitherto lain dormant, or to have been unrecognised in higher quarters.[a]

We have thus been able, through the means of Apicius, to see with irreproachable accuracy what were the *mets* which would furnish forth a Roman dinner.

The artist has not, however, given us the succession of the dishes—in other words, the principles and rationale of the Roman courses.

Upon this, the only trustworthy evidence which we now have, is the *Cœna Metelli* preserved by Macrobius, and a brief allusion of Pliny the Younger. Though neither is very clear in itself, some conclusions may be drawn from both.

In the *Cœna Metelli* there are three services or divisions, which are thus marked: *ante cœnam*, *iterum*, and *in cœna;* and amongst them all they give us examples of entrées, roasts, and entremets.[b]

Pliny's playful summary of a fashionable dinner is of the briefest. He writes his friend, who had pleaded a prior engagement in preference to his own invitation, "At tu apud nescio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditanas maluisti," and laughingly pretends that at his house his friend would have a vegetarian dinner of the primitive Italian kind.[c]

This is all we now know of the services of the dinner itself. Between this and the dessert there was as wide a distinction at Rome as in London; the one was *prima mensa*, the other *secunda mensa*. This demarcation was a borrowing from Asiatic Greece, from which also another adoption was made, scarcely so logical or creditable.

Pliny's Gaditanæ lead us to this other feature of a Roman dinner. When the real labour of dinner was over, and there remained only for disposal the light delicacies of the second table, the Roman Amphitryon took care that his entertainment should contain a success of another kind. He provided amusements which should supersede or stimulate conversation.

At the tables of the gay these amusements assumed a character which accorded with that of the guests. To them the dancing-girl and the professional performer[d] gave entertainments, which, though they may have accelerated digestion,

[a] Upon this the learned Dr. Pegge has observed (Preface to the work mentioned above, p. 21):—

"It may be said, What becomes of the Old English Hospitality, in this case, the roast beef of Old England, so much talked of? I answer, these bulky and magnificent dishes must have been the product of later reigns, perhaps of Queen Elizabeth's time, since it is plain that in the days of Richard II. our ancestors lived much after the French fashion."

[b] Lib. ii. c 9.

[c] Lib. i. epist. 15. (See *ante*, p. 4, foot note c.)

[d] The Greek poet Matron called them by a freer name. See the inimitable description of an Attic dinner preserved by Athenæus, lib. iv. c. 13 :—

"Πόρναι δ' εἰσῆλθον, κοῦραι δύο θαυματοποιοί."

did not do much towards improving the understanding. At the tables of the serious—of *beaux esprits*—a diversion of a more solid nature was provided. To these guests new works were read and published—old works were recited.

Atticus—who gave the worst dinners in Rome, if they were judged by their culinary merits; but whose *réunions* were, notwithstanding, the resort of all the *meilleur monde* of that city—contrived to have the last new things of his friend Cicero read on these occasions. In return, Cicero (*toujours indiscret*, as his charming biographer Boissier observes) has perpetuated the failing of his parsimonious friend, at whose table were served the most ordinary legumes upon the most precious dishes.[a]

After a time the Gaditanæ went out of fashion; for what reason, whether the world became more decent or less extravagant, does not appear. Macrobius, though an evident Pagan, asks his friend Horus, who was a professed antiquary, "Ante cujus triclinium modo saltatricem vel saltatorem te vidisse meministi,"[b] and receives no answer. But the books and the plays and their recitation continued as long as there was a Roman world.

The author of Querolus, who flourished certainly after the reign of Diocletian, says of his own clever little drama, "Nos fabellis atque mensis hunc libellum scripsimus."[c] It is this interesting custom of Rome that makes the groundwork of the Deipnosophistæ of Athenæus, and renders it probable.

The only point that remains is, How did the Romans eat their dinner?

M. Marc Monnier says, "The Romans took from the attendant slaves their morceaux of fricassée and ragout upon pieces of bread. The former having been eaten, the latter were thrown under the table."[d] I do not know M. Monnier's authority for this; but the incontestable learning of that author will amply warrant us in accepting his assertion. If it be accurate it will explain the detail of our Saviour's parable of Dives and Lazarus. Such an improvised trencher as that which M. Monnier speaks of will apply to the eating of roast, boiled, stewed, and ofellæ; but there were other dishes which with the fingers could have done but little without further aid. As in the Middle Ages, the spoon, therefore, must have occasionally replaced them.[e]

Such was a Roman dinner.

[a] Boissier, Ciceron. p. 175. [b] Lib. ii. c. 10. [c] Prefatio ad Rutilium.

[d] Pompéii et les Pompéiens, c. 6. See Athenæus, lib. iii. c. 100.

[e] The term "sorbitio" applied to isicia, and the expression "et sic sorbendum inferes," prove this; and, àpropos of the Middle Ages, Dr. Pegge, in the "Preface to the Curious Antiquarian Reader," prefixed to the Forme of Cury, says, "My next observation is, that the messes both in the Roll and the Editor's MS. are chiefly soups, potages, ragouts, hashes, and the like hotchepoches; entire joints of meat being never served, and animals, whether fish or fowl, seldom brought to table whole, but hacked, and hewed, and cut in pieces or gobbets. The mortar also was in great request . . . . Now in this state of things the general mode of eating must either have been with the spoon or the fingers."

XVI.—*On some Roman Bronze Vessels discovered on the Castle Howard Estate, Yorkshire.* *By* Edmund Oldfield, *Esq.*, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

Read March 7th, 1867.

The five bronze vessels, now exhibited by the kind permission of Vice-Admiral The Honourable Edward Howard, were first recovered in June, 1856, from the spot where they had lain buried probably since the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. A party of drainers, digging immediately behind a farmhouse on Stittenham Hill, belonging to the Castle Howard estate in Yorkshire, came upon these vessels at about three feet below the surface, placed one within another, in a nest or group. The soil, I understand, is boggy, and the metal accordingly has preserved the smooth unpatinated face and brownish hue common with ancient bronzes found in wet localities. The form of all the vessels is the same, and approximates to that of a modern saucepan; but the bowl of each, instead of having vertical sides and a broad flat bottom, is curved inwards as it descends, like a cup, and the base is ornamented externally with raised concentric rings. Each handle, which is shaped in simple but not ungraceful curves, has a hole for suspending the vessel from a hook or peg. Round the bowl of the largest vessel runs a narrow engraved border of peculiar pattern.

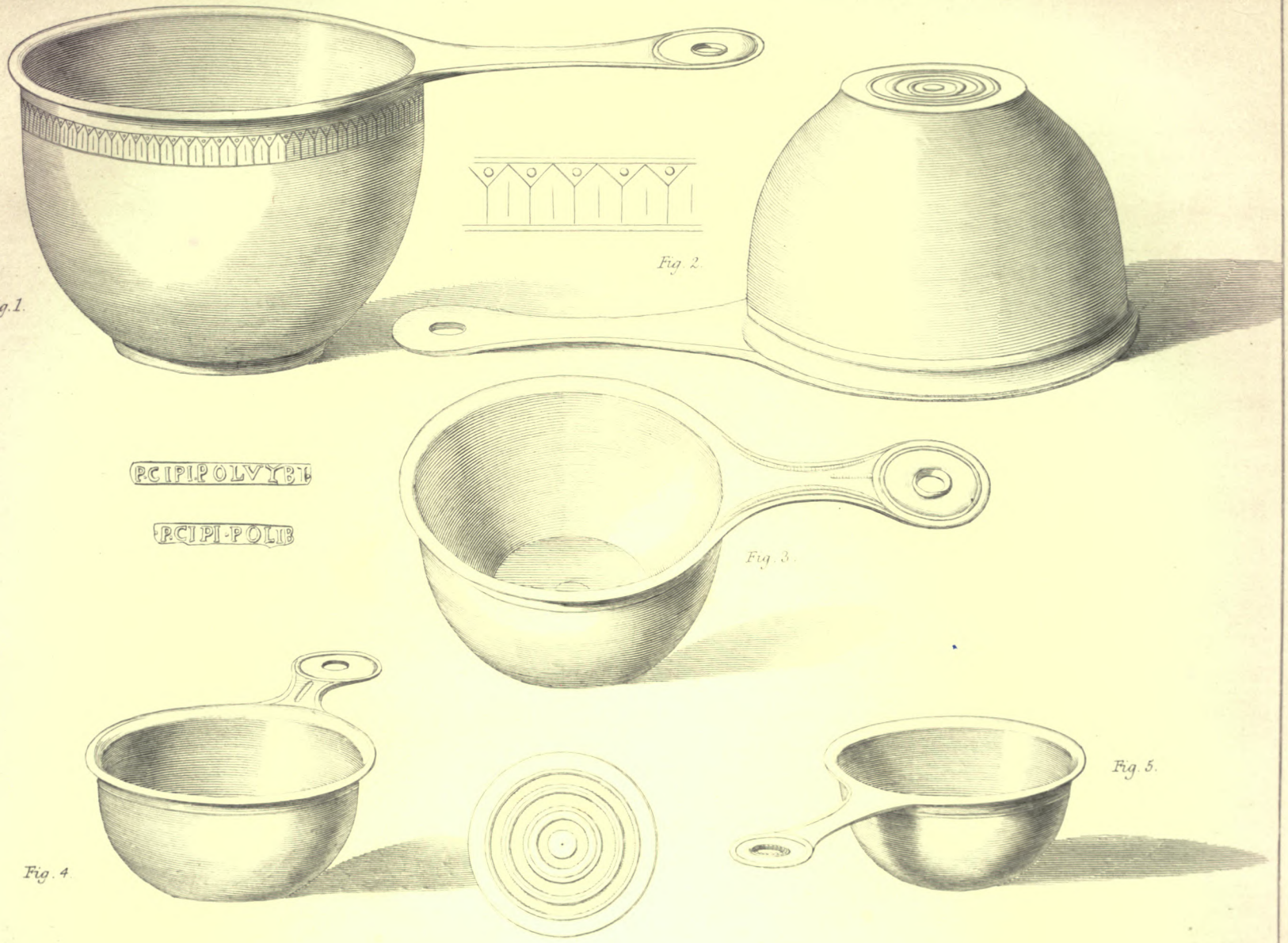
The capacity of each vessel had been ascertained before they were forwarded to me, and their dimensions and relative proportions are sufficiently curious to justify a somewhat detailed notice. The quantity of water which they will respectively contain is stated, in a memorandum with which I have been furnished by Admiral Howard, describing the particulars of the discovery, to be 16 oz., 22 oz., 40 oz., 80 oz., and 92 oz. Now, as the imperial pint is equivalent to 20oz. avoirdupois of water, it follows that the smallest vessel contains rather more than three-quarters of a pint, the next rather more than one pint, the third exactly two pints, the fourth exactly four, and the largest rather more than four and a half. The *sextarius* of the Roman liquid measure was in the proportion of ·96 to our pint, or just one twenty-fifth less, and its equivalent in ounces is therefore 19·2. The *cyathus*, which was one-twelfth of the *sextarius*, was ·08 of the pint, or equivalent in ounces to 1·6. Consequently sixteen ounces, the dimension stated for the smallest vessel, is exactly the measure of 10 *cyathi*. Passing over the second vessel for an instant, we find the capacity of the third given as 40 oz.,

which is exactly the equivalent of 25 *cyathi*, or two *sextarii* and one-twelfth. The capacity of the fourth is 80 oz., equal to 50 *cyathi*, or four *sextarii* and one-sixth. Here, then, we have three out of five vessels bearing to each other the precise ratios of 10, 25, and 50, or (taking 5 *cyathi* as the sub-multiple) 2, 5, and 10. The two remaining vessels, if their dimensions be correctly stated, have no exact correspondents in the ordinary Roman measures. The second, said to contain 22 oz., is less by two ounces than 15 *cyathi*, or one *sextarius* and a quarter. In like manner the largest vessel, if, as stated, it contains 92 oz., is equivalent to 57½ *cyathi*, and falls short of 60 *cyathi*, or 5 *sextarii*, by four ounces. But as this vessel has a small hole broken in its side, which must have increased the difficulty of accurately measuring its contents, the discrepancy of four ounces in ninety-six will perhaps not be considered material. At any rate, it will probably be admitted that both this and the second vessel present a sufficient approximation to multiples of five *cyathi* to satisfy us that their original dimensions were not left to chance, but designedly fixed with reference to the same standard as the other three.

Agreeably to a custom common among the Romans as well as ourselves, the maker of these implements has stamped his name on two of the handles. One of the inscriptions reads P·CIPI·POLIB, the other P·CIPIPOLVIBI. The manufacturer therefore may probably have been Publius Cipius Polybius. The name of Cipius was that of a plebeian *gens*, and is found on Family coins of the republican period, and not unfrequently in monumental inscriptions. Polybius as a *cognomen* occurs united with various gentile names, Vibius,[a] Firmius, Voconius, Andosius.[b] It is to be observed that the second syllable of Polybius, in one of the stamps before us, consists of the letter I, and in the other, of UI, or possibly UY, for the second letter seems to have an oblique stroke on the right of the vertical line at its top, similar to what is often seen in the representation of the letter Y in the Roman imperial times.[c] The usual vowel by which in those times the Greek Υ was expressed, in words imported into the Latin, was Y, which had superseded the U of Ennius' period, as recorded by Cicero. If, therefore, the letters on the stamp be UY, they must be considered a compound of early and late orthography. If, on the other hand, they be UI, they

[a] Gruter, DCCCCLVII. 13. [b] Mommsen, Inscr. Regn. Neap. 2559, 2890, 6769, iii.

[c] In the annexed Plate the engraver has given to this letter too decidedly the form of the ordinary Y. It consists in the original bronze of certainly not more than two strokes, the upright line, which runs unbroken up to the top, and (perhaps) an oblique bar on the right; but this has no correspondent on the left. The letter may be compared to a K, in which the lower limb on the right has been omitted



ROMAN BRONZE VESSELS [illegible] IN THE CASTLE HOWARD ESTATE, YORKSHIRE.

indicate some uncertainty, if not ignorance, in spelling. This last, indeed, is the conclusion to which the I on the other stamp would rather point; for though "Polibius" spelt with an I is to be found in Gruter's inscriptions,[a] it must be regarded merely as a corruption.

Vessels more or less resembling the specimens before us have frequently been found on Roman sites, and are to be seen in several museums. Two discovered in 1790 in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, and described in the Archæologia,[b] seem hardly distinguishable in form from the present examples. But a more beautiful and curious illustration is to be seen in a vessel found at Prickwillow, in the Isle of Ely, in 1838, and figured in the Archæologia, with a description by Mr. Goddard Johnson.[c] The bowl of this is encircled with the identical engraved pattern of the largest vessel in the Castle Howard series. The handle, however, far surpasses any of the present specimens in costliness and beauty; for not merely is it ornamented with reliefs representing marine animals and foliage, but an elegant arabesque of vine leaves is inlaid in enamel. It bears the stamp BODVOGENVS · F ·, of which it may be remarked in passing, that the name of the maker has an apparent affinity with that of Boduognatus, the Nervian chief mentioned by Cæsar,[d] and is, perhaps, philologically connected with that of BODVOC, well known from the British gold coins so inscribed, and formerly attributed to the supposed mint of Boadicea.[e] In the thirty-ninth volume of the Archæologia,[f] where an engraving is given of some Roman antiquities found at Colchester, including an ornamented and inscribed handle apparently belonging to a bronze vessel like the present, other similar handles are mentioned, stamped with their makers' names. To these may be added a vessel with inscribed handle, published by Montfaucon.[g]

The examples hitherto referred to are all of bronze, with the inside generally tinned. But a second class of vessels must be noticed, which are of silver, and in general form resemble these, though with varieties amongst themselves analogous to those found in the bronze. The only feature which, in all the specimens I know, uniformly differs in the two metals, and seems therefore a distinctive characteristic, is the inscription. Those which occur on bronze vessels are all marked with a stamp, and record the maker's name. Those of the silver vessels, on the other hand, are never stamped, but either formed of letters incised and

[a] Gruter, CCXL. col. 3.
[b] Archæologia, xi. 105.
[c] Ibid. xxviii. p. 436, pl. xxv.
[d] Bell. Gall. ii. 23.
[e] This affinity has not escaped the notice of Mr. Evans; *vide* Coins of the Ancient Britons, p. 139.
[f] Archæologia, xxxix. 509.
[g] L'Antiq. Expl. tom. iii. p. 1, l. 3, c. 12, pl. lxiv.

inlaid with gold, or simply pricked in with dotted lines; and their sense is uniformly dedicatory, each in honour of some divinity. Thus a silver vessel in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities at Vienna,[a] which is the same in form as the bronzes before us, has the handle inscribed MERC in letters inlaid with gold, evidently implying a dedication to Mercury. Another example is the very interesting and beautiful vessel now in the British Museum, of which a full account was published by Mr. Hawkins in the Archæological Journal.[b] The inscription of this, also in letters inlaid with gold, is MATR·FAB·DVBIT., generally interpreted as a dedication to the Deæ Matres. Lastly, the remarkable group of antiquities in silver, once belonging to the treasury of a temple of Mercury at Berthouville near Bernay, which were discovered in 1830, and are now in the Imperial Library at Paris, contains no less than eight vessels, which appear from M. Chabouillet's description to be more or less similar in form to those just referred to.[c] Two of these have inscriptions on the handles in dotted lines recording their dedication to Mercurius-Augustus by one Creticus Runatis; a third has on the bottom of the bowl a similar dedication inscribed by a woman named Germanissa; and a fourth has on the handle the following inscription in letters inlaid with gold,—M—— VENERI, interpreted by M. Chabouillet as a dedication to Mercurius-Venus, or Hermaphroditus.

It is evident from these inscriptions that the vessels which bear them were devoted to a religious use: and as at Berthouville vessels without inscriptions, but in other respects precisely similar to those which are inscribed, were found in the same group, this religious use must have extended to both classes alike. It is therefore not improbable that the silver vessel found in Northumberland in 1717, with the bottom of another similar vessel, and four handles, also in silver, richly decorated with reliefs, all of which were published in the Archæologia,[d] and afterwards passed with Mr. Payne Knight's collections into the British Museum, may, though uninscribed, have originally belonged to the treasury of the temple of some divinity.[e]

Now all the bronze vessels are so like the silver, both in general form and in

[a] Published in Arneth's Gold-und-Silber Monumente, No. 92. [b] Arch. Journal, viii 35.

[c] Vide Cat. Gen. des Camées, &c. de la Bibl. Imp. pp. 452-4, No. 2832-9. Cf. M. Le Prévost's Notice of the collection in the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, tom. vi. p. 75.

[d] Archæologia, xv. 393, pl. xxx.—xxxiii.

[e] There is one peculiarity in the Northumbrian vessel which I have not seen in any other example. On the bottom, close to the edge, are the marks of three small feet, intended, apparently, to raise the vessel slightly from the table or other surface on which it might have stood.

the subject and style of the reliefs with which the handles of several are decorated, that, notwithstanding the different character of their respective inscriptions, there must have been at least some analogy in the purposes to which they were applied. This consideration at once throws a doubt on the explanation which at the first glance might seem most natural for such bronze specimens as the present, and which has indeed been adopted by Signor Caterino in commenting on a similar vessel in the Neapolitan Museum,[a] namely, that they were intended merely for cooking, like our saucepans; for such an use would be inapplicable to the sacred rites, for which the silver pieces appear designed. Other peculiarities of the bronzes themselves seem likewise adverse to such an explanation. For firstly, the contraction of the bowl in its lower part, and the mouldings with which the exterior of the bottom is generally relieved, however they might contribute to the elegance of the whole implement, would no less endanger its stability, if placed upon a heap of fuel. Next, it is recorded in the descriptions of both the bronze vessels published in the Archæologia, that their undersides show no signs of the action of fire; and the same remark applies to the present examples, and indeed to all others I have seen. Lastly, the introduction of enamel into the handle of the vessel found at Prickwillow, as described by Mr. Goddard Johnson, is surely inconsistent with its use as a saucepan.

On the whole then no more probable interpretation suggests itself to me than that vases of this form, of whichever of the two metals, were employed for measuring out liquids. Those dedicated to divinities, which are in silver, might have served to determine the quantity of wine required for libations. Those which were simply secular, such as probably all the known specimens in bronze, would have been used chiefly at the banquet, to adjust correctly the proportions of wine and water in the *crater* or mixing-bowl. These proportions appear from Athenæus,[b] and other ancient writers, not to have been left to accident, but generally to have been either 3, 2, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ of water to 1 of wine, probably as determined at each entertainment by the symposiarch or *arbiter bibendi*. Such a destination as now suggested would explain the exactness with which the different dimensions of the Castle Howard vessels have been adjusted to a common standard. It has been shown that three of the series contain respectively 10, 25, and 50 *cyathi*. This adherence to the most convenient multiples of the *cyathus*, without reference to the *sextarius*, seems to accord with

[a] *Vide* Museo Borbonico, vol. v. tav. lviii.

[b] Deipnosophistæ, x. vii.

the idea that such vessels were peculiarly designed for wine, of which the *cyathus* was the accustomed measure. Thus Horace says[a]—

> " Sume, Mæcenas, cyathos amici
> Sospitis centum ;"

by which we may understand that he was enjoining on his friend a potation equivalent to precisely two vessels like the fourth in the present series. It must be observed however in passing, that before we venture to deduce from these words any estimate of the convivial capacities of the accomplished Roman, we must learn from the slave who mixed the *crater* the quality, as well as quantity, of the compound,—in other words, which of such vessels as the present might have measured out the wine, and which the water.

Whether any and what title was appropriated by the ancients to vases of this form, or of the use here suggested, I cannot now undertake to determine. The name of *simpula*, under which such objects have before now been described,[b] does not appear to me applicable to them. The use of the *simpulum* is well known from ancient authorities, and its form may, I think, be precisely ascertained. It was employed for the purpose of drawing out wine from large vases, and transferring it to the *pateræ* for libation. Varro defines it as follows : " That with which they used to take (the wine) in minute quantities they have named *simpulum*, from taking (*sumendo*). Into the place of this has succeeded in banquets the *epichysis* and *cyathus* introduced from Greece; in sacrifices the *guttus* and *simpulum* have remained."[c] The etymology here, as usual with ancient philologers, is rather fanciful than sound; but the description of the use of the object, which must have been well known to Varro, cannot be doubted. Consistent therewith is the language of Festus: " The *simpulum* was a little vase not dissimilar from the *cyathus*, with which libations of wine were made in sacrifices; whence also women devoted to religious rites were called *simpulatrices*."[d] Now as regards the *cyathus* of the Greeks, to which Varro refers, a monument is preserved in the Museum at Naples, which clearly illustrates both the original implement and the manner of using it. On a fine fictile vase, of the form known as *stamnos*, is painted a sacrifice to Dionysus, in which a female

[a] Od. III. viii. 13.

[b] *Vide* Archæol. xxxix. 509.

[c] " Quo sumebant minutatim, a sumendo Simpulum nominavere. In hujusce locum in conviviis è Græciâ successit Epichysis et Cyathus; in sacrificiis remansit Guttus et Simpulum."—De Ling. Lat. v. 124 (ed. Müller).

[d] " Simpulum vas parvulum non dissimile cyatho, quo vinum in sacrificiis libabatur; unde et mulieres rebus divinis deditæ Simpulatrices."—De Verb. Sign. *sub voce*.

votary is taking wine from a large *stamnos* with a ladle, and pouring it into a cup.[a] Inside this fictile vase was found a bronze ladle, exactly similar to that painted on the exterior. This, therefore, was evidently the *cyathus*. Similar ladles are preserved in the British Museum and other collections; and specimens are published in the Museo Borbonico, though not under the name here assigned.[b] It appears from the passage quoted from Varro that the *cyathus* had in his time been adopted in Roman banquets. It was there used by the slave who attended each guest, and replenished his cup; and it is in this sense referred to by Horace, "Puer quis—ad cyathum statuetur?"[c] The *cyathus* was doubtless originally made to contain exactly the amount of the liquid measure of the same name; and if this dimension was always preserved, the slave would have had to replenish it for Mæcenas one hundred times. The *simpulum*, however, or sacrificial ladle of the Romans, though described by Festus as "not dissimilar from" the *cyathus*, seems to have been not quite identical with it in form. As an instrument emblematic of the priesthood it is frequently represented on coins, and has then always a shorter handle, and generally a wider and shallower bowl, than the *cyathus*.[d] Altogether its form corresponds to the specimen published in the Museo Borbonico, vol. iv., plate xii., figure 6, which I should regard as the standard type of the *simpulum*, just as the other three figures already cited from the same plate present good types of the *cyathus*.

It will be observed that both these classes of implements had an entirely distinct use from that here suggested for the bronze and silver vessels already considered. The employment of the latter would be merely in a process preliminary to the actual libation or banquet, and this will explain their absence from ancient representations of such scenes. The use of the *simpulum*, on the other hand, in filling the *patera* immediately for libation, was doubtless regarded as a part of the sacrificial act, and thus the implement itself acquired a special religious significance, which led to its delineation upon coins.

P.S.—Since this paper was submitted to the Society, I have had an opportunity of inspecting several other bronze vessels of the class here described, in the

[a] Engraved in Gargiulo's Recueil des Monuments du Mus. Royal Bourbon. vol iv.

[b] Mus. Borb. iv tav. xii. fig. 5, 7, 8.

[c] Od. I. xxix. 7.

[d] *Vide* Cohen, Monn. de l'Emp. Rom. vol. i. pl. xi. (Nero, No. 55); vol. ii. pl. xv. (M. Aurelius, No. 587); vol iii. pl. x. (Caracalla, No. 384). Montfaucon has collected several of such coins, vol. ii. p. 1, b. iii. c. iii. pl. LIII.

gallery appropriated to the "*Histoire du Travail*" in the Universal Exhibition of 1867 at Paris. These vessels, of which five bear stamps inscribed with the makers' names, were all discovered in ancient Gaul. Generally they do not vary from the type represented by the Castle Howard examples; but one exhibits a novel feature. It is a vase, belonging to M. Charvet, numbered 757 in the Official Catalogue, and there entitled, like most of the others, a "*casserole*," or "saucepan." The place of its discovery has not been recorded. The bowl of this is decorated externally in low relief with a bearded mask, of which the hair passes into foliage, enveloping two swan's heads. On all other specimens known to me (including No. 739 in the same Exhibition, which is entitled a "deep *patera*") the ornamental reliefs are confined to the handle. This peculiarity, it will be seen, is in no way inconsistent with the use here suggested for such vessels, but would surely be not very appropriate on the supposition that they were saucepans.

My attention has also been called by Mr. A. W. Franks to an account of a vessel discovered in 1864 at Pyrmont, in North Germany, and published by Mr. Director Ludwig of Darmstadt.[a] This vessel, which is of bronze, and of the same general form as those here discussed, is remarkable, and of its class perhaps unique, in its style of decoration; for not merely the handle, but the whole exterior of the bowl, is covered with the remains of *champlevé* enamel, in blue, red, and green colours, forming an elegant arabesque of foliage, tendrils, and geometric figures. It has no inscription; but, from analogies of form and workmanship, Mr. Lugwig is fully—and I think rightly—convinced (notwithstanding a doubt suggested by Mr. Von Olfers) that it is a production of Roman art. It need scarcely be pointed out how incompatible the enamel decoration would be with the culinary use commonly assigned to such vessels.

In conclusion, it may not be irrelevant to add that the British Museum possesses a small glass vase of Roman work, very similar in form, allowing for the difference of material, to the subjects of the preceding paper. It is stated to have been discovered in 1828, within a marble "cist" (probably a sarcophagus), at Vaison, the ancient Vasio, in the Department of Vaucluse, and was acquired for the Museum with the collection of M. Comarmond of Lyons. Whether this vase had ever any actual use, or was merely designed as a mortuary offering, we have no evidence to show.

[a] Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft xxxviii. p. 47, Taf. 1.

XVII.—*Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Leverton, in the County of Lincoln: a Letter from* Edward Peacock, *F.S.A. Local Secretary for Lincolnshire, to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq. M.A. Director.*

Read November 22nd, 1866.

Dear Sir,

Leverton is a parish in the wapentake of Skirbeck and parts of Holland in the county of Lincoln. The name has usually been thought to be a contraction for Leofric's town, but, as the assertion rests on no better authority than the Pseudo-Ingulph,* it may be dismissed without examination. Whatever may have been the origin of the name, it has suffered little distortion or corruption during the course of eight centuries. The Domesday spelling,† though not quite the same to the eye, is identical in sound with that of the present day.

Leverton contains at the present time about eight hundred souls and an area of upwards of three thousand five hundred acres. It is little more than six miles distant from Boston—the capital of the Fens—and, like most of its sister villages, possesses a beautiful church, or rather the remains of a church that has once been beautiful; for three hundred years of neglect and injudicious, though well-meant, restorations in the last century have swept away almost everything of interest within the building, and have disfigured the exterior by the erection of a clerestory in the worst possible taste. The whole of the fabric, except this addition, is of late-Perpendicular character. An engraving of it may be seen in the last edition of Thompson's History of Boston.‡

The parish of Leverton had formerly two distinct rectories, called the boreal and the austral medieties. The tythes of the whole parish were equally divided between the two rectors, and each of them possessed a separate rectory-house, both of which stood within a small inclosed space on the south-eastern side of the churchyard. The origin of this singular arrangement is unknown. If we may trust the list of rectors published by the late Mr. Thompson § we have

* Sub anno 870. † Levretune. ‡ P. 555. § P. 557.

evidence that it was in force in the reign of Edward the Third. Robert and John were, according to the printed table, rectors in 1333. This arrangement continued in force until the beginning of this century.

On the 16th of May 1800, an Act of Parliament was passed for the consolidation of the two medieties.* This Act directs that the Crown (as the patron of the North Mediety) and the Reverend Samuel Partridge (as the patron of the South Mediety) should present alternately to the consolidated rectory.

Among the old tythe regulations were some singular local customs. Every householder paid a yearly offering of three halfpence under the name of smoke-money, and each person who partook of the Holy Communion two-pence as an Easter offering.† Tythe in kind was paid for fruit,‡ nuts, pigeons, roots, honey, and wax. Two eggs were paid for each hen and duck, and three for each cock and drake.

The following Extracts have been made by me from a foolscap folio volume, containing at the present time ninety-three leaves. There is evidence that a few others have been lost. The present Rector found the sheets of which it is composed among the parish papers in a very tattered condition, without cover of any kind, and only kept together by a string. The quotations here given, numerous as they seem, are but a very small portion of the document.

In making selections of this kind it is always difficult to determine what portions should be given and what excluded. The editor of a church account-book feels this difficulty more than one who is engaged in a record with higher claims to general interest. So much occurs of a seemingly unimportant nature which still remotely illustrates the social and domestic life of the past that he has great temptations to diverge into endless repetitions or childish trivialities. If I am thought to have done so in this case my excuse must be, that, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject, no period of our annals is so much in need of light as the era of the great Tudor Revolution. The history of the change in religion effected by that long continued convulsion which Henry the Eighth and his children directed is one of the most interesting events in the annals of modern Europe. If we think of it in all its aspects of good and evil, and

* Commons' Journals, vol. lv. pp. 373, 377, 408, 447, 538.

† In some places in Lincolnshire the peasants have an opinion that the alms given at Holy Communion is a charge made by the clergyman. I have known a woman refuse to receive the consecrated elements because she found that she had forgotten her purse.

‡ Hothouse plants and exotics were claimed to be subject to tythe in the parish of Kensington, A.D. 1781. —*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxvii. pp. 663, 939.

look to the future as well as to the past, I know of no other period so important, except the Civil War of the following century, which was indeed but the closing act of the great drama of the Reformation.

It might be imagined from the following sheets that the passages quoted do not give specimens from every year, or that many years are wanting in the manuscript. This is not so however. At Leverton, as in many other of our rural parishes, it was customary in former days to permit the churchwardens to continue in office for several years together; and for them only to give up their accounts for audit once in two or three years. Thus, in the papers before us, the year at the head or foot of the account does not in all cases indicate the exact year of the receipt or payment recorded.

I have given, towards the close, a few extracts from a quarto volume of the accounts of the Leverton overseers of the poor, ranging from 1563 to 1598.

The late Mr. Thompson in his "History of Boston" has published some translations and condensed extracts from this compotus. Unhappily however that industrious antiquary did not examine the record himself, but trusted to some transcriber who was utterly unable to read the original. The result has been that many of the most noteworthy entries are omitted, and those that are given are frequently so blundered as to entirely pervert the sense. As is not unfrequent in documents of this kind, a certain amount of bad Latin will be found in these accounts. I have endeavoured to reproduce the contractions actually used as nearly as might be, although they are often not those which a well-educated calligrapher of the period would have employed.

My warmest thanks are due to the Reverend Charles Francis Newmarch, M.A. the present Rector of Leverton, for giving me permission to transcribe the whole of this interesting manuscript.

I remain, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

EDWARD PEACOCK.

1492.

Compot' Walt' Busche* & Witt Clark pp̃ositores (*sic*) ecc̃e de leu̓ton in festo sc̃i martini año dñi M° cccc° nonog' sc̃do & año r' r' henric' vij octo.

In p'mis recepi de Ric' Rob'son & Johc̃ merild pposit' año elapso	. .	vij s.
It' rc̃ de Johc̃ Wright rect' de leu̓ton p deb' Witt murr †	. . .	iij s.
It' rc̃ de eod' Johc̃ p p̃quisit' dict' Witt murr ad sum' crusifix	. . .	ij d.
It' rc̃ de eod' Johc̃ p d' Witt ad altar' sc̃e marie	. . . .	ij d.
It' rc̃ de eod' Johc̃ p d' Witt ad altar' sc̃i Thõe	. . . .	ij d.
Sm̃a	. . .	x s viij d. (*sic*)

Rent' ass' ptinen' summ' crusifix

In p̃imo rc̃ de Agñe Rob'son p vn' pascu' voc' Cote Croft	. . .	iij s.
It' rc̃ de Johc̃ Wryght rect' p vnu' pascu' voc' Chytchowe ‡	. . .	xij d.
It' rc̃ de Witt Rob'son p deb' agn' Rob'son p cad' pascu	. . .	ij s.
It' rc̃ de Thõa fendyk p cad pascu voc̃ Chytchowe	. . . .	vij d.
Sm̃a	. . .	vj s vij d.
Sm̃a tot' recept'	. .	xvij s iij d.

Expensu' p man' dict' pposit p pdict ecc̃a

In p'mo sol Johi Clark p emend vni' bell coler	. . . .	j d.
It' sol p claui p emen' de bell qwelys	. . . . .	j d.
It' sol p vnu̓ lintheami' peamiu̓	. . . . .	iiij d.
It' sol Thõe Silam p fact' viij° ti hempe	. . . . .	ij d.
It' sol Walt' Wytnese p trussyng of ye bell'	. . . .	vj d.
It' sol Edm° hopkynson p emen' campan'	. . . .	j d.

* The Busseys were a family of very old standing in Leverton and the neighbourhood. In the Subsidy Roll for this parish in the 6th Edward III. we find the name of Bussey the second in the list of persons taxed. There is, I believe, no reason to doubt that the Busseys of this place were an offshoot from the knightly house of Bussey of Hougham, in this county. I have, however, seen no evidence by which to prove the connection. A valuable chartulary of the Busseys of Hougham is in the British Museum, and yet remains unprinted. It forms No. 1756 of the Harleian Manuscripts.

† A William Murre, probably this person or a near relative, was the host of the Lion inn, situate in Bargate, Boston, in the early part of the succeeding century. He rented this house of the gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Boston for the yearly sum of fifty shillings. He was dead in the 7th of Henry VIII. *Compotus Gildæ B.V.M.* fol. 4.

‡ The Church hill ; A.-S. *Cyrece Hou.*

Iꝑ soł ꝑ ix łi cere vnde vj łi payde aft⁹ viij d. a łi & ij łi aft⁹ vij d. ob. łi j łi for vij d. Sm̃a totalꝭ	v s x d.
Iꝑ soł ꝑ factiõe ei⁹đ cere	ix d.
Sm̃a toꝑ expensu̅ . .	vij s x d.

Om̃ibȝ compuꝑ computanđ.

1495.

Rec̄ de Roberto hardy ꝑ legacõe paꝑis sui	—
Rec̄ de Johẽ scheparde de Benỹgton ꝑ sepultur⁹ Johĩs hop . . . . son . .	—
Rec̄ de Johẽ Tamworth* armig̅o ꝑ antiquo debiꝑ Johĩs grene . . .	iij s iiij d.
Rec̄ de philippo pot de newark drapar ꝑ leg̅ Wiłłmi Johnson Rector . .	xiij s iiij d.
Receperũt de willm̃o wryght ꝑ debito Johĩs wryght Recꝑ . . .	x s viij d.
Rec̄ de dc̃o willm̃o wryght ꝑ lum̃ie	iij d.
Rec̄ de execuꝑ Johĩs Robertson ex legac̃oe	iij s vj d.
Rec̄ de Ricõ fendyk emendac̃oi vestimentor⁹	viij d.
Rec̄ de execuꝑ walteri Buschy ꝑ sepultur⁹ & om̃nbȝ altar⁹ ec̃clia . .	vij s ij d.
Rec̄ de gilberto Birkys voluntarie daꝑ	vj s viijd.
In primis ꝑ le sewyng Rope	iiij d. ob.
soł ꝑ Emendac̃oe Campanile	vj d.
soł ꝑ j łi sere & facꝑ ei⁹de⁹	viij d.
soł vni lau̅ꝑci ꝑ lauac̃oe	iiij d.
soł ꝑ sanctificac̃oe vni⁹ calic̄	xij d.
soł ꝑ le Carage magne campane	ij s iiij d.
soł ꝑ le trossyng dc̃e campane	ij s iiij d.
soł ꝑ facꝑ de ij. scolpys †	viij d.
sol ꝑ Emendac̃oe vestimentor⁹	xvj d.
sol ꝑ emendac̃oe campanilis	iij d.
sol ꝑ emendac̃oe arcar⁹	iiij d.
soł Willm̃o wryght de Benyngton ꝑ le hengyng of ye grette belle . .	ij s.
soł ꝑ paupiro	iiij d.

* John Tamworth was father of Christopher Tamworth, the rector of the South Mediety of the rectory of Leverton in 1534, when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was taken. The family took its name from the borough of Tamworth. The branch of which the person named in the text was the head, had been settled in Lincolnshire from an early period, and had matched with the families of Thimbleby, Ayscough, Kyme, Willoughby, and other houses of distinction.—*MS. Queen's Coll. Oxf. F.* 22, *fol.* 4.

† A scolp is a wooden shovel. The word is in this county usually restricted to the large shovels used for turning grain and potatoes. The family of Scolpholme of Lincolnshire used a scolp as an heraldic pun upon their name. Their arms were *Argent, a scolp in pale sable between six water-cress leaves of the same.—Yorke, Union of Honour, Linc. Arms*, p. 47.

for vax	xij d.
for a ston hempe to ye bellstryng	v d.
for a lantryn makyng in boston	iij d.
for a lokke makyng to ye kyrke dore	xix d.
payde to geny dowson for cloysse wychyng	xj d.
in expensys at boston puttyng vp	iiij d.

1498.

Thys ys ye som of the mone ȳt Xyprston pyckyll & Robarde tayl3er resseuyd of ye gaderyng of ye town schyp of leu̓ton in ye kyrke	iiij*li* xiij*s* x*d*.
Resseuyd of Wyllm̃ poldertofte of the Sopulcur lythe	vj s viij d.
Resseuyd of Thomas fyndyke wyt ward*	viij d.
Resseuyed of ye parson of ye north parsonage	vj s viij d.
Resseuyd of Rici robbardson fo *(sic)* ye mone he avt ye kyrk	x s.
Resseuyd of Sander mytlam wytword	iiij d.
Resseuyd of Essabell bell for her wyt word	ij d.
Resseuyd of annys bussche of lucus gate for the wytword of hair hosband	v s viij d.
Id^m^ annys bussche to the rod lofte	vj d.
Resseuyd of Rici dawson ȳt left of ye tax	xv d.
Resseuyd of ye gylde of Scaynt hellyns †	xiij s iiij d.
Resseuyd of ye plowth lyth of leu̓ton	xl s.
Paid for ston at ye qwarryll	xxxix s viij d.
Expencys at ye qwarryll & at boston as wye com howmward	v d.
Expencys whan wye war at ye wod	iij d.
for pauper and yngke	iij d. ob.
for Wode to ye stepyll	xvj d.
for a Spade to the kyrk	vj d.
for a lyne to draw ye cortyn hour the qwer wyt ‡	j d. ob.

* Probably a mortuary.—1481, "Of Cutberd Eyer for the Queth Word of Tym Chawmbyr 40 s." *Walberswick Churchwardens' Accounts, Gardner's Dunwich*, p. 148 ; 1505, "Of Will'm Atkyn for witword of Will'm Joneson weu[er] p't of amore [a larger] some, vj s. viij d." *Compot. Eccl. Sc'i Jacobi de Louth, com. Linc. MS.* p. 104 : "1543. Item res' for Will Brigges bereall and for his wytward vj s viij d."—*Kirton in Lindsey Churchwardens' Accounts; Proceedings of Soc. Ant.* 2 series, ii. p. 386. Cf. Nichols's *Illustrations, &c. from Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 200.

† Leverton church is dedicated to St. Helen.

‡ The lenten curtain which hung between the choir and the nave. It remained hanging between the altar and the people during the whole of the mass until the gospel was read, when it was pulled aside, and the altar remained unveiled until the "orate fratres" had been said. It would seem that this veil was withdrawn during the whole day on festivals of the double class. The lenten veil was commonly of a violet colour. The ground was sometimes white and richly ornamented with red crosses.—Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 221–225.

for a loke to ye logge dor	iij d.
for Sowyng roppe	v d.
for naylle & tackyte	iiij d.
to ye Smyt of leke * for hyngyng of ye belle	vj d.
to Wyllm Red for red byndyng	ij d.
for cloyths wessyng agayn yowll	vj d.
for cloythys wessyng a gayn passe	iiij d.
to the plummar	iij s vj d.
for a bord	x d.
to Thomas macyn for goyng wyt vs to ye quarryll	iiij d.
in expencys at ye sam tyme	xiiij d.
for a wendde † & a man a day	v d.
to a glouar for a schep skyn & a caf skyn to bynd boke wyt in ye kyrke	xj d.
to the boke bynddar hys hyre	xxj d.
to ye sam boke bynddar	xvj d.
for makyng clen of ye bell hows lofte	j d.
for iiij ti sawder	xvj d.
in expencys gwan wye went for Swynsyd fayr to the quarryll ‡	vj d.
for wytledder	ij d.
for fyre to ye plomar	ij d.
for nayls to the plomar	ij d.
to Wiłłm Wryth for ye bell welys	xiiij d.
for stabelle & hoder thengs to ye font §	iij d.
to ye Wryth whan he com to se hys warke a for he be gan to worke	iij d.
for ye boke byndderе bord a Weke	x d.
for ye boke byndderе bord and his Wyfe a noder weke	xvj d.
to Thomas Masyn for wyrkyng of ye stepyll	xxvj s iiij d.
for a tre bowt at Tombe wode	ij s.
payd to a wryth for settyng vp of a fern ¶ to hym & hys man	xviij d.
payd for ye Wrytte bord whan they syt vp ye fern	x d.
payd to ye Wreth for makyng of ye tember warke to ye stepyll	xiiij d.

* Leake is an adjoining parish.

† A winch or windlass for raising stone at the quarry.

‡ There is a fair at Swineshead for cheese, onions, &c. on the 2nd of October. The cattle fair is held on the first Thursday in June. Swineshead was the site of a small Cistercian abbey. *Monast. Angl.* ed. 1849, vol. v. p. 336. It is about fourteen miles from Leverton.

§ Fonts were required to be kept locked, lest the water should be used for magical purposes. This rule dates from early times, and is of constant occurrence in the decrees of local councils. Almost all the old fonts which yet remain have upon them the marks where the hinges and staples have been inserted.

¶ *Quære* a scaffold.

for lyme to ye masyn	iij s iiij d.
for a sope barryll	iiij d.
to a ca^p^ * for makyng ij tobbys of yt for ye masyn to werke wyt † . .	iiij d.
for the fychyng ham of ye same tobbys	j d.
to ye sawharȝ for sawyng of ye bord to ye stepyll	ij s vj d.
payd for the Sawharȝ bord for vij days a man	xvj d.
for a Wendas at maram	ij d.
to Wyłłm puldertofle	vj d.
for a tre ye wendd^y^ was made of	viij d.
for a ł of greese	j d.
in expencys whan wye bowt ye lyme	ij d.
to John pyckeryng for a lod of sand fycyng fro ye se . . .	iiij d.
to Robard tayler for ye lyme fetyng hom	vj d.
payd or he cowd com hour ye bryg	j d.
to Rich^d^ wytton for a nax	j d.
(sic) payd be ye handȝ of Robard Thayłȝer in hernest for lede . . .	vj s viij d.
payd at a noder tym be ye handys of Robard taylzer for ye mene was last in boston .	v s.
for a lyn to ye hy quere ‡	j d.
for a lyn to ye rod lofte	j d.
for a ł sawder to Robard tayłȝer for ye plommar	iiij d.
payd ye Smyth for makyn of a godgon to a bell	j d.
to Rankyng hod wyfe for menddyng a sorplys	ij d.
to a glayssyar for makyng of a glas wyndo	xvj d.
to ye breñ of Swynsyd fen wan ye com from ye quarryll wyt the ston . .	xx d.
in expencys at freston wyt ye brener §	ij d.
for a carte to bryng ye led fro boston	xvj d.
Xpyrstan pyckyll for a puter plater for to make sowder of . . .	ij d.
for nayllys to ye glas wendo	ob.
for a payr of sensars makyng	j d. ob.
for a fodder led ‖	iij ł vj s viij d.
in expyncys whan we bowt led	ij s x d.

* Carpenter.

† The "sope barryll" had been cut in two and the halves used as buckets to draw material in to the masons at work upon the tower.

‡ There were two curtains in use during Lent, to each of which a line was attached. The first hung in the high choir immediately before the altar, the second between the nave and the chancel.—*See note ante.* Hart, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 233.

§ Lime-burner.

‖ A fodder or fother of lead is 19½ cwt.; "according to the book of rates 2,600 lbs., at the mines 2,250 lbs., among the plumbers at London 1956 lbs."—Bailey, *Dict. sub voc.*

1503.

resseuyd of the wyt word of Syr Richard hardys of boston	xx s.
resseuyd of the wyt word of John gren to ye hy awter and to Toder awtere	xij d.
resseuyd of the gyfte of John Red Marchand to hour kyrke be the handꝭ of Riĉi Towtyng	v s.
in expencys at boston whan ye bell was schot	xx d.
payd for a bell clapper dressyng at boston	ij s.
to John Dalbe for bavdrec makyng to ye bellꝭ	vj d.
for a candylstyc dressyng	xv d.
for a handbell makyng at boston	vij d.
for making of ij lockꝭ and bolsterꝭ to messur *	xiij d.
payd to gynnyt Wascelar for helpyng of a sorplys	ij d.
for waynskot at boston	xxj d.
to Ellyn Acclyf for met and drynke	ix d.
to Rici messur whan ye bells was last hungyn	vj d.
for a lokke makyng to ye font	ij d.
to ye channon of breder tofte †	v s iij d.
to John walcar & wyllm busshe for makyng of stylys	xj d.
for ye Sancꝭ bell string	ij d.
payd to Thomas ketlar for beying wh̃ hym	iij d.
for a hand bell makyng at boston	vj d.
to Riĉ messurꝰ for makyng of hyryn wark to ye bell	iiij d.
to ye plummar for makyng of ye sanꝭ bell	vj d.
to John Red bellgedar of boston for schotyng of a bell	iij li vj s viij d.
for cloys wessyng to gynnyt Wascelar at passe last was	v d.

1506.

Resseuyd of ye executors of John merryld ye sm̃ of hys wytword to the awters	xij d.
for ye sam John merryld for ye hy crusyfyx	iiij d.
of ye wytward of robard warnar to ye kyrke Warke	vj s viij d.
for ye forsayd robard wytword to ye hy awter	xij d.
Id Robard to howder of ye toder Awterꝭ vj d. the som	xij d.
payd to John Walcar for makyng of the barryes to ye kyrke gap & the style	xv d.
to the clarke for scowryng of candelstyckꝭ	ij d.
for tackettꝭ to the bell wellꝭ	ij d.

* This entry if it stood alone would probably mislead; Richard Messure was the blacksmith employed to make the locks. The "bolsteres" were bolts.

† Brothertoft is a hamlet and chapelry in the parish of Kirton in Holland.

in expencys at freston whan wye fest ye font to make*	v d.
for nayllys to the kyrke porche	j d. ob.
for nayllys to mendyng of ye stollys in the kyrke & for mendyng of the toder kyrke porche	iij d.
to the clarke for helpyng of ye wrytt̄ a day	j d.
for makyng of a bolder to ye bell qwell	j d.
in expency̆ qwhan ye went to ye quarryll to see ye ston	viij d.
payd to a quarryll man for helpyng vs owt of ye quarryll & to teche vs ye way for tollyng †	j d.
payd to a noder man for guydyng vs thoro the feldys for paying of tolage ‡	ij d.
payd for hayr cloth to syr John bussche to hour ladys awter & to scaynt Thomas̆	xviij d.
payd for a tray of lyme at boston	x d.
payd for landyng of the sam lyme & fetcying of yt hom and landyng it	viij d.
payd to Watkyng long for clay	j d.
payd for a halywat̄ stoc makyng	viij d.
to Rici messure for makyng of ye kyrke loc & ye kay & a kay to a kyste	ix d.
to ye pson for halloyng of a corpas §	vj d.
for schottyng of ye led to ye font	xiiij d.
in expensy̆ whan ye led was schotte	ij d.
to gynkyng Watkyngson & wat̄ long for mawyng Red ‖ a day to met & hyre	xij d.
to Wäter Wyllmson for byndyng of the sam Red & landyng yt & layng it to geder	xvj d.
for l^b^ a dosyn¶ suyng rope to ye kyrke	iiij d. ob.
in expencys at boston whan I bouth ye swyng rope	ob.
for nayll̆ to ye latt̆ whan the thykker was at the kyrke	ij d.
to ij men whan the thykkyr was at the kyrke to ye ton vj dayy̆ & ye toder v dayys, to met & hyre on ye day iiij d. the som	ij s viij d.

* Frieston is a small village about three miles from Leverton, on the Boston road. It is probable that the carver who made the present font at Leverton, which is certainly of this period, dwelt here; the supposition is strengthened by the fact that the font at Frieston, although much more elaborate, is very similar in character to that at Leverton. There was a Benedictine priory here—a cell of the Abbey of Croyland.

† Possibly this means that he instructed them the way in which they were to measure the quantity of stone that they had purchased; but see the next entry.

‡ They were, I imagine, guided through the fields to escape toll at a bridge or ford.

§ Probably the parson had paid a fee for the consecration of the corporax to one of the bishop's clerks or chaplains. Ecclesiastical vestments and utensils, in latter days at least, were always consecrated by one of the episcopal order. Lindwood says, commenting upon a constitution of Archbishop Edmund: "Vestimenta et alia ornamenta quibus Domino ministratur, non solum debet esse honesta, sed etiam sacrata, sive benedicta. Et debet hæc benedictio fieri ab episcopis non autem a simplici sacerdote."—*Constitut. Provinc.* lib. i. tit. 6. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, ii. ccli.

‖ Reeds for strewing in the church.

¶ Half a dozen.

for ynke	ob.
for a noppyt * was don in leu̅ton kyrke for gynnyt palmar of boston . .	ij s.
to a boke bynder for mendyng & bendyng of bokꝭ	x s viij d.
payd Riĉi messure for a spade	vij d.
to Allyson hardy for cloyth wessyng a gayn pays	viij d.
to the sayd Allyson hardy for candylstyckꝭ scouryng . . .	iij d.
payd for Arthrow at ye all whan he cō to se ye stancion of ye glas wyndo .	j d.
payd for rossyll to the glayssiar	j d.
to John Walcar for makyng a payr of Trystyls	iiij d.
to the glayssyer for iij dayys wark & di	xiiij d.
for iiij li sawder to ye glayssyr	xij d.

1512.

Resseuyd of Syr John pyncbec of ye wyt word of Syr Robard Styrbard . .	iij s iiij d.
of ye gyld mone on ye gylde day	xxiiij d.
for the beryall of syr John Bussche	vj s viij d.
of Riĉi messur for ye hold bell clapers	xix d.
payd in Ernyst when wye fest hour bellꝭ to make	iiij d.
in expencys thayt day hour bellꝭ war schotte	iij s viij d.
for strykyng of the bylleꝭ	iij d.
for paup	ob.
in expencys whan wye fette the bellꝭ fro boston	viij d.
payd to lenard pynchbec of boston in payrt of payment four hour bellꝭ gyddynge .	vij li ix s.
in expencys in bred & alle whan ye bellꝭ were weyd . . .	iiij d.
for ij oblygacyonꝭ writing in boston	vj d.
for the nobbyt of wa̅ bussche & his wyfe	v s.
to John hauthro for hyngyng of the bellꝭ . . .	xxvj s viij d.
to a Sawar ij dayꝭ	viij d.
in expencys at boston a (*sic*) for ye comesere †	viij d.
in expencys at lyncolne yt John bussche gadered in ye kyrke . . .	ij s v d.
in expencys at london for ix dayys a hors & a man	vij s.
in expencys for the comesore & hoder thyngꝭ	x s.
to Thomas Myllyt for wyrkng a bout ye kyrk	iij d.
to John Aclyf for drawyng herth wyth ys horsse	ij d.
to Syr wyll̅m Stedman for a wanscot	xx d.
for pavper & ynke	ij d.
for a ston of hempe & ij li. to bell stryngꝭ	ix d.

* An obit. † Commissary.

for makyng of ye sam hempe	viij d.
in expencys at lyncolne whan ye wrytyng was browth hom	xvj d.
for the mans wage, Rod to lyncolne for hys hyre	xij d.
to gynnyt Robbardson for mendyng of a westment	iiij d.
to mayst^r^ comesore for the de gre wye suyd for hour parys preste	x s vj d.
to master peter for wr̃tyng of ye sam dege (*sic*)	vj s viij d.
for fyttyng home of a barryll	j d.
for watking b^r^sche terment for bred & all & to prestys and clarke	v s.
for makyng of a style at lym hous hend to John Walcar	vj d.
to Rici messur for a claske makyng to a portas syr John bussche gaf to the kyrke	j d.
to harry Est gate for clymyng to ye sante bell	j d.
to Syr John S̄nke for makyng of a challe	xij d.
payd coylzerrent* for ye hous marryon clarke gwelle in	ij d.
for a callys halloyng	iiij d.
for a payr of sensars chaynys whan mayst^r^ pson was at london	xij d.
for bryngyng hom of a payr of sensers fro london	vj d.
for a loke makyng to hyng of ye fonte	j d.
for wat^r^ bussche terment to prestys & clarkys and bred & alle & schese	v s.
for layng togydder of ye kyrke Red	iiij d.
to harry Est gate for hyngyng vp of ye sakyrment	j d.
to Edmond colchest^r^ for stoyng of ye Red	ij d.
for iij kayys makyng & mendyng ye start† of ye sant^r^ bell	ix d.
payd coylzer* rent ij yere for ye kyrke yng	iij d.

1516.

for a ston of hempe	viij d.
for ye makyng of ye sam hempe	iiij d.
for ye nobbyt of water bussche to ye preste & clarke & all & bred	v s.
for Clement ye wryth whan I fet him to see hour belle	ij d.
for Clement ye wryth denar & for arewarde (*sic*)	vj d.

* This payment very frequently occurs in almost every possible form of mis-spelling. Its meaning is by no means clear. It may be a form of the word culvertage, *culvertagium*, a term used to indicate the escheating of a vassal's lands to his lord. Du Fresne's *Gloss.* and Jacob's *Dict.* sub voc. Cf. *Mat. Parisiensis Historia Minor*, ed. Madden, ii. p. 133. Culvert is a common word in Lincolnshire and elsewhere for a drain or sewer. It is not improbable that this rent may have been a tax for keeping the culverts in order. It has been suggested that the proper form of the word is culver-rent, and that it was a tax paid to the Lord of the Manor in lieu of his right of keeping pigeons. A.S. Culfre, a dove. This seems extremely unlikely.

† Handle.

John wallcar for a day wyrkyng abowt ye bell wellꝭ . . . vj d.
for makyng of yt yᵉ lamp hyngys in . . . . . iiij d.
for yᵉ strynge yᵉ lamp was hong wyth . . . . . j d.
to wyllm̃ Robbardson for a c Red * to ye kyrke . . . . xij d.
to the clarke for wrytyng . . . . . xij d.
Resseuyd of gadderyng in the kyrke . . . . . iij li vj s vj d.
Resseuyd of Thomas Ratforth & gynkyn watkyngson of yᵉ sepulchyr lyth . xiij s iiij d.
In expencys whan the masyn was wyth hus & bouth the ston & for Thomas westland & wyllm Robbardson . . . . . ij s iij d.
for schoyng of my hors whan I rod to yᵉ qwaryll . . . . iiij d.
for makyng a payr of in denterꝭ be twyx the quarrylar & us . . . ij d.
for led to the kyrke stake † . . . . . ix d.
to harre est gat for syttyng of the kyrke stake . . . . ij d.
to wyllm warryson for dykyng of yᵉ kyrgarth dyke . . . . iiij d.
to Thomas coke mone he layd howth for the gyld hous chymnay makyng . xviij d.
to John walcar for a lettryn makyng in yᵉ quere . . . . v d.
for the quarryll man denner at boston . . . . . ij d.
to wyllm cortys for breneage ‡ in the fen . . . . . ij s viij d.
to yᵉ clarke for making your accounte . . . . . xij d.

1517.

Whan the masyn was her & mett yᵉ ston in expencys . . . iij d.
for iiij c iiij penne naylleꝭ . . . . . xij d.
for ij c of ij naylleꝭ . . . . . iiij d.
at bosston for a tray of lyme . . . . . xvj d.
for bryngyng hom of yᵉ sam lyme . . . . . ij d.
to symond webstar for makyng clyn of yᵉ loge . . . . j d.
to a Tyncar for mendyng bokeꝭ . . . . . iij d.
to the masyn whan he toke yᵉ chyrche of hys bargain . . . xvj d.
to the masyn for laying on of yᵉ water tabyleꝭ . . . . v s.
to yᵉ wryths for hyngyng of yᵉ kyrke & huying of yᵉ schorys § . . . vj s.

* A hundred bundles of reeds.

† Perhaps the churchyard cross. In that case the lead was used for the purpose of making the shaft fast on the base.

‡ This may have been a payment in lieu of a rent paid in bran. *Brennagium*, tributum quod pro *brennio* præstatur, vel *brennium* ipsum, quod tenentes dare tenentur dominis suis pro canum venaticorum pastu. Du Fresne, *Gloss. sub voc.* I believe, however, that it indicates a payment for burning the seed and coarse grass in the fens.

§ The north side of the church was at this time under repair. The shores were temporary supports of timber given to the walls. The word is still in use.

to ye persan for wode to ye kyrk gate & to a letryn	viij d.
for iij tray of lyme John pyckyll browth hom	vj s viij d.
for beryng & metyng of ye lyme	viij d.
to ye wryth for schoryng of ye north syde of ye kyrke . . .	ij s ij d.
to ye masyn for myndyng of crakȩ & sparsettȩ * and mendyng of deffawtȩ .	xx d.
to Symond webstar for dressyng of ye kyrke	iij d.
for the santus bell makyng	ij s.
to a westement maker	iij s v d.
for a challys makyng	xx d.
to Essbell fendyke for mẽdg of vestmentȩ	viij d.

1519.

Resseuyd of Thomas westland for the land water bussche sett to kepe hys nobbet wyth	v s.
of Edmond pycheryng for the land the town sold hȳ . . .	xx s.
for S. John bows berryeall	vj s viij d.
payd for a Swan was sent to the parson	iij s iiij d.
for bokys was bouth to the new fest	iij s iiij d.
for carrying of a San * to London	xij d.
for halleying of the kyrke †	xl s.
for Thomas coke for ye kyrgath halloyng	xx s.

1521 (*circa*).

solucr̃t vni lau̇tei ꝑ loc̃one linior̓ vestimc̃tor̓ eccl̃iastic̓ arga festu̓ penthecostes (*sic*) .	viij d.
sol̃ pro smigmate ad corporalia abluenda	j d.
sol̃ pro vna libra cere et ꝑ factura eiusdem	xj d.
sol̃ vno tectori ꝑ emendac̃o̓e occidental̃ finis eccl̃ie ꝑ trib̓ dieb̓ . .	xviij d.
Roberto gambull ꝰsuienti eidm̃ tectori trib̓ dieb̓	xv d.
sol̃ vxori Rob̃te gambull ꝑ auxiliac̃o̓e et impleac̃o̓ le tryppull vna die . .	iij d.
sol̃ seruo illi̓ q̃i faciet tabulam alabastri qꝰ veniebat huc ꝑ labore suo . .	v d.
sol̃ ꝑ quiq̃ v^l^gis panni lini pingend̃ ꝑ summo altari	ij s vj d.
sol̃ illi qui faciet tabulam alabastri qꝰ veniebat ꝑ expenꝰ suis . . .	xij d.
sol̃ vno pictori ꝑ pinxione panni lini pendendi coram sum̃o altari . .	ij s viij d.
sol̃ factori tabule alabastri in ꝑte solutc̃o̓is vni^s^ pacti ꝑ factura ei^s^d̓ tabule . .	vj s viij d.
sol̃ ꝑ vna petra et q̃ãrt canobi ad cordas faciend̓ et ꝑ factura earū̃d̓ . .	xvj d.

* The holes which had been made in the walls for the ends of the shores.

† *Quære* Swan.

‡ Reconciling the church after the above-mentioned repairs.

sol p vna lanterna habente quīq3 luminaria	x d.
sol pro linia ad puam campanam vocat sanct bell pulsand . . .	j d. ob.
sol in malo & fracto argento ad emẽdacõe3 pixidis in quo corps xpi portat ad infirmos	xviij d.
sol aurifabro pro factura eiusd pixid	xij d.
sol p emẽdacõe magne sere que est de austali ostio eccl̃ie et p duob3 lat peciis de ferro ad idem hostium vna quadrat & alta rotũd	xiiij d.
sol p 3onis ad cingend psbit̃os ad missam & p le tapps . . .	iij d. ob.
sol p ffactõe albe qua Ric̃us busche dedit altari sc̃i thome mr̃is . . .	iiij d.
sol p emendacõe veli templi pendentꝫ int chorũ & altare in qãdragesĩa . .	iiij d.
sol pro anulis curtinis ad iddem velũ	ob.
sol p sanctificacõe pdicte albe et alior vestimẽt altar . . .	vj d.
sol Johñi broke factor tabule alabastri in plena solucõe p eadm̃ tabula . .	viij li.
sol pfato Johñi brooke p le vawte stante sup sumitatẽ tabule . . .	vj s viij d.
sol in expens ad deliberac̃o3 tabule pdicte	vj d.
sol ad mawns lawhton pro le ook woode ad eand tabulam . . .	viij d.
sol p clauis	ij d. ob.
soluer̃t Thome gyson p sarac̃oe vni ligni	iij d.
sol dño willmo wryght psbit̃o pochiali pro recordacõe Thome graste et agnetꝫ vxoris sue Johannis et willmi filioru suor in le bedroole . . .	iiij d.
soluert pro le knoppys & sylke taschellꝫ pendent p sacramentũ . .	xij d.
soluert pro le sylke frenge	xxj d.
sol Nicolao fabro p ope ferreo circa tabulam alabastri . . .	ij s viij d.
sol p emẽdacõe duar albar & locõe earũd & p factura curtine pendẽtꝫ añ nouã tabula .	iiij d.
sot p tinxione pdce curtine pendentꝫ an tabula sup sumũ altar . .	xiiij d.
Receper de custodib3 lum̃is sc̃e marie de grace vnũ fract deñriũ et di . .	j d. ob.
Rec de thoma Ratfurth in malo argento	xx d.
Rec de dño Johne bell Rector partꝫ austalis eccl̃ie de leuton ad tabulã alabastri emẽd	liij s iiij d.
Rec de dño Edm̃do pyckeryng de leeke hyrns dũ vixit ad tabulam pdcar emẽd .	xx d.

1524.

Recevyd of alyce the wyff of John pyckyll for the legacye of Thomas hardye hyr son to ye chyrche warke & to ye auters of oy sayntꝫ yr̃ . . .	iiij s x d.
Recevyd of ye sad alyce pyckyll for a cheste* yt he was buryed in . .	xx d.

* A bier was one of the articles of church furniture that the parishioners of each parish were bound to find. The coffin or receptacle for the body was usually detached from the bier itself. It would seem that, contrary to the usual custom, Thomas Hardye was buried in a coffin, and that his friends used for this purpose the one belonging to the parish bier. The reason for this is not obvious. Perhaps he had fallen a victim to some accident, or he may have died of some highly infectious disorder.

of thomas walkar for fyr woode	x d.
of John harryson & wyllyā hudson for ynground	vij d.
of John hopkynson for ye bequeth of wyllyā hopkynson hys ffader to the bell^e^ .	xij d.
to the smyth for yerns & stabull^e^ to hold ye shaft^e^ of ye crosses . .	iiij d.
to wyllyā Josson carpentar for helpyng of ye bellfray agayns halomese . .	v d.
for a ston of chese	vj d.
for v gallons of gud ayle & beryng of ye sayme fro leek to leu̅ton . .	xj d.
payd for the dirige to Sr John Bell pson	iiij d.
to Sr Rec̄ schepperd pson	iiij d.
to the mast^r^ of the chantre	iiij d.
to S John ffendyke deacone ye pysche clarke . .	vj d.
to iiij chylder that Redd lessons	iiij d.
to sex oyer smale chylder	iij d.
to the offering	iiij d.
to ye ij pore women in the chyrch hows . . .	j d.
to the Smyth for ij Sacrye bell clapersse . . .	ij d.
for iij quarters of blake tuyke to hyng betwyx the tabull of ye hye aut^r^ and ye sacrament at sacrye tyme & a lyne to ye same	ix d. ob.
for scouryng of a tabull of alybastre at saynt thōas awlt^r^ . . .	iiij d.
for lyme to dresse the glasse wyndows wyth	j d.
for cosyng & bying of ij payr of newe ffyoll^e^	xiiij d.
for gyrdyll^e^ to albysse at messe	ij d.
in expens for Rydyng to tateshall chayse & to Kyekested to se wood for the chyrche	v d.
for wyne to syng wyth	xvj d.
for a lock to the cheste behynd the chyrche dor	vj d.
for ij dore band^e^ to ye chyrch house callyd clarke house . . .	iij d.
for mendyng of a slevyd surplyce and for a kaye to a hyng loke . .	vj d.
for mendyng of the best chalysse that was brokyn ye xv daye of Marche anno r. r. h. viij q̄to decīo	xx d.
for thacke & caryage of ye sayme to John paynson	xxij d.
to John Saule thacker & wyllya^r^ salter hys man for thackyng & mc̄dyng of the west end of ye chyrche a day & a halfe	xv d.
for Sewyng Roope to ye sayd warke	j d.
for y^t^ at was lad out at wrangle	xx d.
payd mayst^r^ pson bell & Sr John Scott ye viij day of Junii for praying in the bede Roll for ye Saull^e^ of thomas grafte & ag^r^ John & wyll̄m filior^r^ . .	xij d.
to a man for wallyng of ye chyrch howse a daye	iiij d.
for Reed wyne to Syng wyth agaynse saynt elyne daye . . .	j d.

1526.

Receyvd ffor chese* that was gaderyd in the town for ye alybaster man . .	viij d.
in mony yt was gadyrd in ye towne at ye same tyme of them yt gaffe no chesse .	xiiij d.
Rec^d^ of Ric. Sylame for the legacy of clyne watkynson hys wyff^e^ moder . .	xij d.
of Thomas Sledman of benyngton for dett of Robert warner to ye plough lyght † .	xx d.
of Jenet ffranckysch for the legacye of wyllm ffranckyshe hyr husband to ye biyng of ymag^e^ of alybaster to be set in y^e^ for syde of ye roode loffte . .	xlvj s viij d.
to nycholas ye smyth for wyndyng of yryn to ye sec^nd^ bell whele . .	ij d.
to thomas walkar for fellyng & hewyng of ye brygg in pyepe gren . .	iij d.
to Isabell ffendyke for markyng of all ye lyn clothis yt long to ye aw^t^ of saynt thomas w't such a marke of blake sylke ⋈ & to our lad^e^ awter wyth an Ω .	iij d.
for drawyng of ye tymber on ye havyn yt was bought of laurens bellman . .	v d.
to wyllyam worme ye mylner at wormgayt end‡ for makyng of hys wall . .	iij d.
for a stryng to ye chrysmatorye extreme vn̄conis	ob.
to Robert brook y't maid ye tabull of alybast^r^ for ye vaute yt stand^e^ of yt .	vj s viij d.
to ye said Robert in erneste for ye xvij ymag^e^ of alybast^r^ of ye Rood lofte . .	xij d.
to ye said Robert brooke in a full payment for xvj of ye ymag^e^ of alybast^r^ that stand in y^e^ for syede of ye rood lofte yt wyllyam ffrankysch caussyd to be bought .	xlvj s viij d.
to ye said Robert for on oy^r^ od ymage to be sett in ye same place yt ew^r^y stage myght be fyld	iij s iiij d.
to wyllyam Josson whan he cam to breeke ye tymber & lost hys dais warke .	ij d.
to maister holand § of Swynsted & ye plaers of the same town whan thei rood & eryed thar bayne at leu̇ton ‖	iij s iiij d.

* Perhaps for cement: poor cheese with lime is still used for cementing stonework.

† The plough light was probably a taper supported by a parochial gild. There was a gild called "pluygh gilde" at Kirton in Lindsey in 1498.—*Test. Gul. Blyton:* and many other churches. See Blomfield, *Norf.* iv. 287, folio ed. The following entry was to be found in a churchwarden's account of Holbeach, in this county:—"It^r^ to Wm. Davy, the sygne whereon the plowghe did stond."—Marrat's *Hist. Linc.* ii. 104.

‡ Wormgate is a street in the borough of Boston. The mill hill in Wormgate was ordered to be removed in 1705. Thompson's *Hist. Boston*, p. 212.

§ The Hollands of Swinestead were a very ancient family, who professed to trace their line from a Sir Stephen Holland, Knight, Lord of Stevington, in the time of Edward the Confessor. I believe the pedigree cannot be authenticated by record evidence beyond Sir Ralph Holland, who flourished in the reign of Edward I. This master Holland may have been Thomas Holland of Swinestead, who married—1st. Jane, da. of William Harvy of Euendon; 2nd. Jane, da. of Henry Smyth, of Walpole, co. Norfolk; and had issue by both his spouses. I think it is more probable, however, that the person mentioned in the text was the father of the above, namely, Sir Thomas Holland, Kt., who married a daughter of ..... Sutton, of Burton. There is an elaborate pedigree of this family in the Heralds' Visitation of 1562. —*MS. Queen's Coll. Oxf. F.* 22, fol. 17.

‖ Ang.-Sax. *Bannan*, to proclaim. The players gave notice, it would seem, by proclamation of the

for breed & ayle at the same tyme to cause them & y⁹ company to drynke . viij d. ob.
for C of iij penny nayllę & for lattyn wyer for ye ymagę of alybaster . . j d.

Hec sunt v̄ba vlti⁹e volu̅tatę wiłłmi franckysh nup̱ de leu̅ton fact⁹ ib̄m xmo die mercii año dñi M CCCCC^mo vicesi⁹o quarto. In dei nõie amen &c. I bequeth to ye light of owr lady of flowr⁹ j łi of wax to be paid be myn executors eũy ȝer ons ye space of x ȝerę. Also I wyll y^t iij rode of erable land liyng att whittlame cotte betwix ye land of ye her⁹ of John hardy of lyije of ye north & ye land of m. Jeffrey paynell of the South & abbuttę of ye landę of m. John thamworth of ye Est & of ye Com̃on way of ye west be lattyn by ye chirch maisters of leu̅ton for ye tyme beyng to ye best valore for to kepe my ȝer day in ye chirch of leu̅ton for my Saul my wyff Saull & all cristyn saullę w^t the mony yr̃ for resavyd and ye ij p̱sons or ther deputę shal haue c̃y of ye⁹ iiij d. for dirige & messe, ye offering ij d. ye clarke for rynghyng ij d. ye resydew of ye mony to be waryd of bred & cheese and drynk; and I wyll that ye sayd obbyt be kepte the xxiiij day of october.

1527.

Rec. for ye legacy of . . . . thomas Rattforth to ye anowrmentę of ye chirch . x d.
Paid to wiłłm Josson & his men, carpenterę, of saynt agathe day for brekyng of ye tymber for the chirche . . . . . vj s viij d.
on crosse mu̅day for the masyn dyn⁹ . . . . . ij d.
for mendyng of ye butty's of ye chirche wallę on weke, to looke ye mason . ij s iij d.

1528.

Recevyd of thomas thor̃ton for old brokyn thacke y't was lefte in ye lodge . xij d.
of Ric̃ fleschborn of leeke for enge ground * . . . . vj d.
for woode and thacke of old lodge yt fell down in ye chirche yarde . . iij s ij d.
to henrye estgaite for makyng erthe halffe a day . . . . ij d.
to thomas thornton for the next daye folowyng for vergyng of ye thake with erth & mendyng of the gutters be ye butterys . . . . iiij d.
to John whitle p̱lu̅bar for mendyng and sauteryng of ye leedę of ye steple & for saud⁹yng & ravyng of ye gutters ij dais & a halffe . . . xx d.

times and places where they were going to perform. The churchwardens' accounts of the town of Louth in this county contain a very similar entry: "The Players of Grimsby, when they spake thair bayn or thaire play, vj s viij d."

* *i.e.* Ings-ground. "*Ing*, vox agro Linc. usitatissima, significat autem Pascuum Publicum seu Agrum compascuum." Skinner, *Etymolog. Linguæ Anglicanæ*. Probably half the parishes in Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire have lands in them called the Ings. The word is generally found to indicate marshy pasture land. It probably indicates the lands held in common by the members of the tribes who founded our villages. Cf. Richardson's *Dict.* and Bosworth's *A.S. Dict.* sub voc.

for sevyn pownd of Sawder	ij s iiij d.
for a ston of webe leede	vj d.
to Edward bryggę the vestement makar & his son ij dais . . .	xij d.
for a skayne of rede silke & on oy⁹ of blake silke	iij d. ob.
for clasping of two bookes	iiij d.
for a quarter of blake threde	iij d.
for a yard of green Sattyn of Sypryse	viij d.
for a littill hing loke & a kay for ye steple door	ij d.
to a masyn prentys for wallyng of ye wyndow be hynd sanct̄ thom̄s aut̄ . .	iij d.
for makyng of a rochett of the old slevyd surplys	iiij d.
for a bolt of yryn & ij haspis & ij forlockę for ye secn̄d bell . . .	ij d.
for a wine bottell*	ij d.
for a tryangle† to set on xxiiij candyllę of tenebre nyghtę & for yerns‡ y⁹to .	xvj d.
for kepyng of the light of ye rode lofte whiche is kepte wt ye rent of grafte crofte for the Saullę of thomas grafte and ag̊, John & willi⁹ ye sons . .	

Orate ꝑ aĩa Johĩs bell quondam Rectoris ꝑtis aust^alis ecclesie de leuerton qui viũes et m^ani egritudine languens dedit et delib⁹auit fabrice ecc̄tie p̊dc̄e vj li. xiij s. iiij d. & obiit ixmo die marcii scilicę die marcurii anno dñi Mlmo ccccc mo vicesimo qũito. Necnon et instituit suů anniůsariů ꝑ tresdecim annos ꝑx⁹ sequet̄ obs̊uari ꝑ Ric̊ marchyall de boston pistore & thomā westland de leůton suos executores. Quodquidẽ anniůsariů p^imo anno p̊x sequẽt post ei^s decessũ ꝑ dc̄m Ricũm marchiall obs̊uatů est ex ꝑꝑ^ia suasione & volůtate dc̄i Ric̄i qui quidem an⁹ ꝑ nullo dictor⁹ tresdecim annorů cõputabit̄ sed deinceps obs̊ũadũ & ꝑseuerand⁹ est ꝑ spaciů dict̄ xiij annor⁹ ꝑx̃ sequẽt̄. In festo sancti valentini ut̄ infã oct̄ ei⁹dem ꝑ thoma westland inde añuatim expendendo quĩq⁹ solidos argenti. Qui q^idẽ obit̄ incept̄ est ꝑ dictm̄ thom̄ in festo sc̄ti valentini martir⁹ die v̊o ven⁹is anno dñi 1527 anno bisextili.§

Paid to willyam toolin for plowing of ye acr land yt John fyscher hade . .	vj d.
for tuckyng gurdyllę to wer at messe	ij d.

* The bottles in which wine and other liquors were kept in these times were usually of leather. We have evidence that this was so, for an entry occurs shortly of a payment of 1d. for "sesening of ye wine bottell."

† The *hercia ad tenebras*, or *hertium quadragesimale*, was a triangular candlestick containing twenty-four lights. It was used during the service of Tenebræ, or mattins and lauds, for the three latter days in holy week. The inhabitants of every parish were obliged to provide one of these candlesticks or hearses. —*Synodus Exon. a Petro Quivil*, A.D. 1287, cap. xii. in Wilkins's *Concil.* ii. 139. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iii. pt. 2, p. 233.

‡ Irons.

§ It will be remembered that, by the old computation, the new year began on Lady-day, consequently the feast of Saint Valentine (February 14) of 1528 was counted to the old year.

for sesenyng of ye wyne bottell	j d.
for mendyng of sconse* & for hornes to the same	v d.
for a thong of lether hungry to the sanct bell stryng	ij d.
to Nycholase the smyth for yryn thymbullꝭ and vtevailes to ye chirche yaitꝭ	x d.
to John fost of leeke for culyerrent & poundag	iiij d.
for a littill sanct antony bell	j d.
for mendy'g of iij albes and iij amyses and waschyng of ye said	viij d.
to John Raynthorpe of ffookhenhm for xxx lode of ston	xxij s vj d.
for Razyng of ye sad stoon to John Skynn for on daie	v d.
for sharppyng of a chessell	ob.
for fyshe yt was gywyn to ye seller of the stoon	iiij d.

1531.

paid for haloyng of a vestmẽt be ye handꝭ of ye mast of ye chauntre	iiij d.
to John Watkynson for ij fyollꝭ	vj d.
to ye comyssarye for a cytacon	ij s j d.
in expn for Rydyng to lincoln	iij s iiij d.
to ye booke bynder for byndyng of ye bookes	xiij s vj d. ob.
to ye glover for a calff skyn	xiiij d.
ij shepe skynes	x d.
to S John ffendyke for iiij skynnes of pchment	xvj d.
to S thomas paynson for boredyng of anthony pygg ye bokebynd	iiij d.
in expn at edmd marshall house in leuton whan we had comunicacon for helpyng of or chirche	iij s vj d.
for a loke and a kaye to ye ambre dore in ye vestyarye	iiij d.
for makyng of lynnes to lentyn curtayns	iiij d.

Memorandu the xxij day of mounthe of october yn the xxiij 3ere of Kyng hari the viij I S. Ryc. Shepp̄d pson of north pt of leuton comandyg al my physconars to cu a for me for dyuys varyan and causys depend a monkꝭ them forst for the cowntt̄ꝭ of the chyrche wardyns wyllym lym and Jhon kepkynson all for to makyng of newe chyrche wardyns and at ther ynstans I namyd thomas westland and wyllm wastlar. Also for reformacon of last wyll of walt bowsche latt of leuton wyllyd yn ys last will iij acr land to be solld to by a cope w^t^ and the physconars at that tyme dyde sell forsayd iij acr land and mayd ther bellꝭ there w^t^ wytche was a gans good conshans bre yng the last wyll of the forsayd wat were for yn a mens makyng all the physchars now beyng psent a for me the

[*A leaf of the MS. is wanting here.*]

* The sconce was a lamp, or a vessel for containing one. The horns were the projecting portions to which chains were attached for suspending it.

Of Thomas burton for dett of ye plowlyght . . . . xx d.
Of John pecult for dett of sant helen gild . . . . xiij s iiij d.
Of Robert Symson of hys devoc̃on . . . . . iij s iiij d.
Of Sant Thom̃ lyght . . . . . xvij s x d. ob.

Payd for tymner at folkyngham park . . . . . xl s.
to ij mē iiij days carryeng ye same wod . . . . . ij s iiij d.
for iij quare of paper . . . . . iij d.
to S John fendyke sen^r^ for bryngyng a sytation . . . . . xvj d.
for ale when ye forst stone was layde . . . . . j d.
for mending ye carow . . . . . j d.
for natꝛ* . . . . . j d.
to John lownd for rydyng to frampton† for Josson saw . . . ij d.

1533.

to ye dygravs for thar makyng of ye se dyke boke‡ . . . . vj d.
for wessyng of ij hawbys § . . . . . iij d.
to Ric smyth for slotꝛ & on cotteryll ‖ . . . . . v d.

1535.

Rec of Ric̃ ffendyke ye elder for viij stoones . . . . ij s iiij d.

to karver of boston whan he cam to se ye fonte . . . . iiij d.
to ye same for makyng a covering to the fonte . . . . v s.
for a bowet¶ to ber light in a for the Sacrament . . . xij d.
(*sic*)

* Mats. "One knat" occurs in the Inventory of Sir William Reade of Fenham, A.D. 1604, printed by the late Rev. James Raine, D.C.L. in his *Hist. of North Durham*, 117. That learned antiquary says it is "a matress of plaited straw." The Leverton "nates" were probably mats to sit upon. We have seen that the floor of the church was not matted, but strewn with reeds.

† Frampton is a village three miles south of Boston.

‡ This was probably a register of the portions or lots of the sea-bank that each inhabitant of the parish was bound to keep in good repair.

§ Albs.

‖ Slots are long narrow pieces of wood or iron, such as are used for bolts, A.S. *Slitan.* [1538] "For making of banddes, *slottes*, barres, and staples to the new church and the offices 14*s.* 10*d.*" Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, (*Surtees Soc.*) p. 109. Cf. Admiral W. H. Smyth's *Sailors' Word Book*, 633. Cotterells are iron rings placed beneath the nuts of bolts to make them fit tight. The leather roundels at the top and bottom of a mop which are used to keep the wool together go by this name. It also occasionally means an iron or wooden wedge or pin used to secure a bolt. Cf. Best's *Rural Economy in Yorkshire in* 1641, (*Surtees Soc.*) p. 15. Brogden's *Provincial Words in Linc.* p. 47.

¶ A lanthorn.—*Halliwell.*

for on Rachet supples* for ye pyche pste to wer . . . . ij s ij d.
to Stephan ye smyth of benyngton for forlock to ye bellꝭ . . . iiij d.
Resavyd of george brown for cheppys . . . . . vj d.
Resavyd att the drynkyng for the church telled by masꝑ thamworth (*sic.*) . iij li vj s viij d.
Recevyd at the same tyme that was sent to hus beȝond boston and of oder gud men xj s v d.

Payd to daue the wryght for boroyng of ye schaftꝭ† for to shott the led w'ṫ all . iiij d.
to Thomas wyberd for bryngyng of sand from the prechyng crosse . . iiij d.
for Rydyng to boston wh the inquest for seyng of Antynꝰ gott‡ for wyne . iiij d.
Thomas westeland and wyllm lynne and John hopkenson payd to ye wryht for seyng antyn gott for his labor . . . . . iij d.
payd to Thomas wyberd for fecheng of sand from the depe syd . . vj d.
to John mollett for stabulls and hespꝭ . . . . . vj d.
for a byll for makyng of a subsyde . . . . . j d.
to John lyghtfoott for on stak . . . . . xij d.
to Wyllm Nott and symond webster for makyng clene of the churche . . viij d.
payd for hentering of a plante to the stuard and to the balye for screenyng of hudson . . . . . ij d.

1537.

Payd for iiij li. of wax to the sepulckayr and for makyng of the same wax .
for fyve hũderethe tackyttꝭ . . . . . v d.
for lattys§ to the bellꝭ . . . . . j d.
for berryng holm of the polles and the schyve‖ . . . . j d.
for the coman boll wan he was in the hall garthe . . . . xiij d.
to william wytton for stoppyng of the bell loft w't erthe . . . iiij d.
to thomas carter for helpyng of the keystꝭ¶ in the churche for to bere folk in . ij d.
for a warraynd for haueyng vppe of the pressener and for mett and drynke . vj d.

1538.

Payd to on sawer for sawyng of ouꝰ clogꝭ . . . . . x d.
for mendyng of the bassyng . . . . . iiij d.
for ij lasses of sylke . . . . . iij d.

* Rochet-surplice. The Rochet is a sleeveless surplice. "Rochetum differt a superpellicio quia superpellicium habet manicas pendulas, sed rochetum est sine manicis." Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, 252, n. as quoted in Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 17.

† The spouts used to conduct the molten lead into the mould prepared for it.

‡ See note to "auven gott," *infra, sub anno* 1549.

§ Laths. Still called *latts* in Lincolnshire.

‖ A sheave or pulley. The poles and pulley had probably been borrowed of some one for the purpose of raising timber.

¶ The parish coffins, *vide ante*.

1540.

Payd for makyng a surples for ye clarke . . . . . iiij d.
to Robert quinell for brengyng hom of ye shep . . . . . j d.

Anno dñi Regni Reg̃ henrici octaui tricessimo iij ther was on sewtte of vestmeᵗ of (*sic*)
Red purpull velvet gyffne be S John wright the ꝑson the son of wiłłam wryght & Elizabet for the whych ȝe sall specially pray ffor the sawllꝫ of williaᵐ wryght and Elizabet hys wyffe and for the sawll of ser williaᵐ wright ye son and for the sawll of Ser John wright sm̃e tyme ꝑsone of ȳs plasse and for the saullꝫ off Rycherd wryght & Isabell hys wyffe, John trowtyng & hellen hys wyffe, and all ye bñfactꝫ; as well theᵐ that be off lyve as be deꝑtid to the mercy off god for qwhos lyves and saullꝫ es gevyne heyr to the honor off god, hys most blessyde mother oꝛ ladye saynt mare and all hys sayntꝫ beyng in hevyne & the blessyde matrone saynt helyne heyr pattrone and heyr to be ewsyd att suche pryncypall ffestꝫ & tyme as yt sall plesse ȳe curattꝫ as long as ȳt sall last et c ffor all ys̄ sawllꝫ and all Cryston sawllꝫ ye sall say on paᵗ nosᵗ.

1541.

recevyd off the executors off Rychard fendyke the elther for hys beryall in the qwere off ör ladye . . . . . viij s.
Recevyd for the repacon off ye canabe and to ye hy auter . . . xij d.
Recevyd off thomas lyme for wolle . . . . . vj d.
payd to Masᵗ Eyrly for his concell for ye gylde hows . . . xx d.
to willām wytton for wessynge and cleppyng iij schepe . . . j d.
for fyve yerds off hayre clothe to the auters . . . . xxij d. ob.
to John wyllamson for the gylde hawlle . . . . . iij d.
for on lock ij bandꝫ and ij howkꝫ for the chrysmatorye . . . viij d.
for nalys to the candell locker . . . . . ob.
to masᵗ eyerly for makyng evydens to hym and to his clarke . . . xx d.
to wyllam grystcroffte for makyng of the chryssmatorye dore . . . xiiij d.

1542.

Payd to Thomas gregby for hys reward whan John wrygyt browth hus the funt . xij d.
Payd for iiij yerdꝫ off canuys for byndyng of ye chest . . . xij d.
for tachyttꝫ and rossell . . . . . j d.
for iiij pond of soppe . . . . . vj d.
spent of wyłłm grescroft wan he come to se the kest for the seute of vestmenꝫ . iiij d.
to on plumer for helpyng of the churche and for skoryng of ye grett candyllstyx and for skowryng of ye matore and ye two lettell candyll styx and ye sensurꝫ . iij s iiij d.
(*sic*)

for cord to the wale* and to ye rod . . . . . iiij d.
for wyllm grescroft wan he set ye forfet at leges in drenke . . . j d.
for on syttacyon to ye comecere and for renewnyng yt . . . xv d.
ta mas^r^ sanforth for pletyng† . . . . . xij d.

1544.

payd for sylk for mekyng off on pursse for to bere the sakarmẽt in to seke forlke‡ . vij d.
payd Alson fendyk for makyng off the same pursse . . . . viij d.
payd in offeryng of sallues Daye § for all Chrysten soullę . . . j d.

1545.

Payd to essabell fendyk for helpyng off the svtte yt Sr John wryght gayffe vsse . iiij d.
for helpyng off the styltt ‖ to ye bell . . . . . j d.
to S John scott for two bockes for to goye pressescyon w^h^ all at ye kyngę Comandmẽt¶ viij d.
for ij stabullę ij plates and for mẽdyng of the eye off the throwchott . . iiij d.

1546.

for ye kyngę booke**. . . . . xiiij d.
for ye kyngę Iniũctionę†† . . . . . ij d.

* Veil. † Pleading.

‡ The purse which contained the holy eucharist enfolded in the corporale. These cases were frequently called corporaxes, from that which they contained. They were often highly ornamented. When the ornaments and other articles of devotion were destroyed after the accession of Elizabeth these things were sometimes turned to strange uses. Thus at Branceton in this county, in the year 1566, a certain Robert Bellamee bought two of these articles of the churchwardens, "whereof his wief made of one a stomacher for her wench, and of the other, being rept, she will make a purse."—*Mon. Sup.* fol. 178, printed in the Editor's *English Church Furniture*, p. 56.

§ All Souls Day, November 2nd. ‖ Handle.

¶ The litany published by royal authority in 1544, under the title of "*An exhortation vnto prayer, thoughte mete by the kinges majestie and his clergy to be read to the people in euery church afore processyons. Also a Letanye with sufferages to be said or song in the tyme of the said processyons.—Imprinted at London, in Flete-streete, by Thomas Berthelet, printer to the kinges highnes, the xxvij. day of May, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.XLIIII.*" There is a copy of this very rare book in the Public Library at Cambridge. Archbishop Cranmer's mandate for keeping processions in English is dated 11th Aug. 1545. It is printed in the Parker Soc. Edit. of his *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 495.

** The primer of King Henry VIII. published in 1545. In this book the above-mentioned Litany was reprinted. It has continued with slight alterations in the service books of the Church of England to the present day.

†† King Edward the Sixth's Injunctions.—See Wilkin's *Conc.* iv. p. 3. Sparrow, *Coll.* p. 1. Cranm. *Misc. Writings*, p. 498. Fox's *Acts and Mon.* edit. 1858, v. 5, p. 706, for the complete text. An analysis is given by Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata*, edit. 1849, p. 70.

to Jakson of marn^{9} for makyng ye bynkε* in ye church porche & mendyng pyllers of ye north syde of ye church . . . . . x s viij d.
to ye payn^{t} for payntyng al^{l} clothε leternclothε & bann^{9} clothε . . vijs.
for a lether whonge to ye lyttle bell . . . . . iij d.

1549.

Resauyd of Symond melsabe of boston for ij candelstekε of latyn . . xiij s viij d.
of Essabell fendyke for on banar schaft . . . . . j d.
of thomas lyme for on candylsteke . . . . . viij d.
of John Watson [and] Wyllm̃ Woton for Images . . . . xij d.
of thomas lyme for owld clos† . . . . . iij s iiij d.
of John busche & wyllm Rosell for torches . . . . iiij d.
of ye p̄sons for wax‡ . . . . . iij s ix d.
of m^{r} smyth for ij cros clos . . . . . xvj d.
of John south & wyllem wytton & Rosell wyeff for on cloth callyd ye vaell & for ovld cloε . . . . . iij s iiij d.

payd to John snyd ye carver for selyng on ye wendo . . . v s.
to ye panter for panttyng on ye Rod loft . . . . . xx s viij d.
for ye kyngε injoynsyon . . . . . iiij d.
for ye vardyt makyn before ye dene§ . . . . . iiij d.
to John watson for ij days takyn dow^{9} Imegε for met & wagε . . x d.
in expens at Rosellε of ye folkε at war in ye cherch takyn dow^{9} of ye imegε . xvj d.
payd to watson & ys man takyn vp ye kerke stoke and removyng yt to ye alter end iiij d.
to leñd bawdre for mersemetε ‖ . . . . . iij s vj d.
in expenε at Rossellε wahan whe mad our inuentore for ye kyng ye ferst daye . vj d.

* Seats.

† The foregoing ornaments with others were sold in obedience to the injunctions before mentioned, which ordered that "all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition should be destroyed."

‡ It would seem from many entries in these accounts that the churchwardens were in the habit of buying large quantities of wax for the service of the altars and the rood loft. When candles were no longer used in the worship of God this wax would be useless to them, they therefore sold their remaining stock to the rectors of the two Medieties.

§ John Taylour, S.T.P. succeeded George Henneage, LL.B. as Dean of Lincoln in 1544, and retained the office until promoted to be bishop of this diocese, 18th June, 1552. He was consecrated at Croydon on the 26th of the same month. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary I. he was deprived on account of his Protestantism, and John White, a Roman Catholic, appointed in his room.

‖ Fines.

in expenꝛ at chstofor walkere ye ferst daye at boston & for hors at ye falkyn* .	xxiij d.
whe war sent home to . . . . . ye same inventorie that whe spent at Rosellꝛ ye secōd daye	iiij d.
to thomas busche for makyn sedyke at auven gott †	viij d.
for a boke calld ye parafases ‡	v s viij d.
to Mr. ffressine for wereng of his boke	viij d.
for a boke of fernes	iij s iiij d.
to wyllm Rosselꝛ for carying ye candylstickꝛ to boston . . .	vj d.
to John Watson for makyn ye pulpett	v s.
to John watson for a planke to ye pulpett bodom	xij d.
to John lyme for on cart Rope at was wold in pases § . . .	viij d.
payd to ye vesetorꝛ clarke for makyn of or invetorre for ye cherche land & oblyt landꝛ	ij s.
to ye vesetorꝛ	xij d.
payd walsraw at ye dore or whe went in	viij d.
whan whe mad our invetore for ye beschope	. . . . .
to ye comesare	xij d.
spent at leeke whan mastꝛ herꝛbe whas her & fet our gere a wea . .	ij d.

1552.

Resavyd of wiłłm hemlt̃n for on seut of blake sae	vj s viij d.
of ye sayd wiłłm for on seut of gren selke	ix s viij d.
of John lyme for on pexe w't selu̅ bandꝛ	v s viij d.
of S thomas hakꝛ for on pantyd cloth	xij d.
of John mereld for ye cou̅reng ou̅ ye sakr̃ment	vij d.
of thōs lyme for ye amberes	vij s.
of S thōs & willm̃ acle for iij corpparx	xij d.
of wiłłm hemlen for on altartabull	xij d.
of thōs lyme for on altartabull	iiij s.
whan whe cared our boukꝛ to boston spent at cart wreght in drenk . .	iij d.
to Richard best for our wardyth makyn for pore fokꝛ . . .	iiij d.

* The Falcon Inn at Boston was situate in Bargate. Thompson, in his *History of Boston*, surmises that it was an important hostelry "prior to and during the sixteenth century." The earliest mention of it which he had succeeded in discovering is dated 1611. There is at the present time an inn called the Falcon, standing very near to the spot on which the old "falkyn" stood.

† The haven gowt. A gowt is a sink, vaulted passage for water, or the roadway over a water-course. Cf. Skinner, *Etymologicon*, sub. voc.

‡ The paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels was ordered by Edward the Sixth's *Injunctions* to be set up in some convenient place within each parish church.—Strype's *Cranmer*, ed. 1848, ii. p. 447.

§ Pulled in pieces. Inflection of *Hale* to Haul.

for our wardyt makyn at the sessonꝭ of seuerꝭ at kertton* . . . xij d.
to steper of stekenaꝰ for dresen† of yᵉ new dren . . . . xij d.
to Rechard best for yᵉ ferst artekellꝭ . . . . . viij d.
to Rechard best for makyn of or wardyth to yᵉ first artekellꝭ for por foxs & wacabonꝭ . . . . . iiij d.
to Rechard best for yᵉ secõd artekellꝭ . . . . . iiij d.
to Rcchard best for makyn of or wardyth to yᵉ Resedeu of yᵉ artekellꝭ . . ij d.
to symond melsabe for ij saltarꝭ . . . . . iij s viij d.
for on spayd to witton . . . . . xvj d.
to m̃ browꝰ clarke for our in stroxsyonꝭ‡ . . . . iiij d.
to wiłłm acle for on tabull . . . . . ij s.
to lenꝰd bawdre for wod at bowtcher garth . . . . iij s iiij d.
for hallyng of yᵉ wod forth of yᵉ garth to ij men . . . . ij s viij d.
to yᵉ ꝑsonꝭ for thyth wod § . . . . . xxij d.

payd to John parker for hegeng iiij days . . . . . xvj d.
to thõs cartar at yᵉ gott wt̃ hys ax . . . . . xvj d.

Resauyd for a hallawt̃r stoke & Tow candylstks of John lyme . . . iij s iiij d.

Payd to the coñssyoners for sartyn ornaments be longynge to the churche of leuerton . . . . . xxxij s vij d.
to edmand melsake for the buke of comand sarvys || . . . xvj d.
to John lowende for woode for to make the newe clowersse ¶ . . . viij d.
to ye offesares when the sawggs wentte to skottland of the challys mone** . x s.

1553.

Resayd . . . to j howernment to yᵉ hy awtar . . . . vj d.
Resauyd for on maser†† . . . . . x s viij d.

1555.

Reseued of John smeyth for the be queste of ꝑson smyth hys unkell . . vj s viij d.
of John busche for torches . . . . . iij d.

* Kirton-in-Holland, a market town four miles south of Bostoꝛ.

† To dress is a common Lincolnshire provincialism for to cleanse, as applied to a ditch or drain.

‡ Instructions.

§ Tythe wood.

|| The second prayer-book of King Edward VI.

¶ Cloughs, *i. e.* doors affixed at the mouth of a drain in order to prevent the inflowing of the tide.

** This entry has reference to the war with Scotland of 1547-1550. It is probably misplaced.

†† A mazer bowl. See Promptorium Parvulorum, ed. Albert Way, *s. v.* MASERE.

of mast̃ browen for the vestementę	l s.
payd for iij boxsses to the cresmatory	iiij d.
for payntyng of the hye awtere cloytth	xij d.
for a leyttell mawende for the holy breade *	ij d.
for a cresmatore	iij s iiij d.
In exspensys whan we Rayde ffyrst to Lyncolln for or̃ horsse & or selfes whan we sewyd for the vestementtes	ij s.
for a sytassyon the same tyme	xij d.
payd to a pykt̃ † theyre the saym tyme	xij d.
for a pyxe for the sacramentt	xx d.
for a stryng to the sacramentt	j d.
for a vestemett to thomas lyme	iiij s.
to Jaffray day for ij candellstykę	iij s vj d.
for iiij yardę of lynyng clothe for iiij yardę of camwysse ‡ for the hye awyl̃ .	iiij s viij d.
for a C torffe § to the plomars	iij d.
In expenssys whan we Rayde to mast̃ oggell to pynchebeke ‖ & from thensse to Spalldyng	xij d.

* A basket for the Holy-bread or Eulogia. "1546. For a mand ffor hallybred, ij d."—*Churchwarden's Accounts, Kirton-in-Lindsey, in Proceedings of Soc. Ant.* 2d. s. ii. p. 386.

† A picture.

‡ Camis, camies, camus. LAT. Camisa, camisia, from Cama, a bed. See Du Fresne, *Gloss.* sub voc. Camis seems in the first place to have meant thin linen, such as night-clothes were made of. It afterwards came to signify any thin light texture, whether of linen or silk; *e.g.* Spenser says that Radigund was dressed

> "All in a Camis light of purple silke
> Woven uppon with silver, subtly wrought,
> And quilted uppon sattin white as milke."
>
> *Faerie Queene*, B. v. c. v. s. ii.

Camis seems sometimes to represent the Latin Camoca or Camucum, "Panni sacrici vel pretiosioris species." Du Fresne.

§ A hundred turves for the plumbers to make a fire with to melt their lead.

‖ Thomas Ogle of Pinchbeck represented a younger branch of the great northern family of Ogle, ennobled in the year 1461 in the person of Robert Ogle Dominus Ogle Chl'r. The following table, abridged from the Lincolnshire Heralds' visitation of 1562, shows the ancestry of the "mast' oggell" mentioned above.

Richard Ogle = Marie, sister to Sir William Fitzwilliams of Moulton, Kt.

Richard Ogle, s. & h. = Beatrix, sister of Sir Anthony Cooke, Kt.

Thomas Ogle of Pinchbeck, living 1562 = Jane, da. of Adlard Welby of Gedney.

Richard	Beatrix
Thomas	Ellen
Adlard	Jane
Robert	Marie
John	Cassandra
Henry	

to Wyllyam ackle for makyng of the canabey & for a keycheyffe to the same . ij s.
to John lyme for the holy Wayt᷑ ffatt . . . . . ij s.
for maykkyng of the sepulkkure howysse* . . . . iij d.
for paynttyng of a clothe for the saym . . . . . ij s.
to John lyme for a pyxe . . . . . v s viij d.
for smalle candell᷒ to sett on the seyrgge† . . . . iij d.
for feycheyng of the sepulkcure clothe frome the payn᷑ att boston . . ij d.
to mas᷑ busche for bying of boukes . . . . . viij s.
to the karyare for bryngyng of the bowykks frome london to boston . . vij d.
to Edmonde Cart᷑ for feychyng of the cryssmatorey att benyngton . . j d.

1556.

paid by the hands of Thoms Greyne for threy yard᷒ canves for a clothe to paynt thereon the roid wh̄ marye & John‡ . . . . . xx d.
to John knyght for payntynge the sayme . . . . . iij s iiij d.
for the oblation on psalmes day . . . . . j d.
p̄d be the handes of John lyme to master Ellys ꝑuand of lyncolne for makyng threy byllyment᷒ for the crysmatarye . . . . . xij d.
for a bere chyste for corposses beyng dede to be brought to the church in . iiij s x d.
for a lanterne . . . . . x d.
for towe halff yere portesses§ a prosesshyoner and a manuell . . . vj s viij d.

1557.

R of John Bushe and adlard Greyne for the sopper lyght . . . x s.

* "The sepulkhure howysse" was probably the Easter Sepulchre. The old one had doubtless been made away with in the preceding reign. The Easter Sepulchres in small churches were commonly, but not always, of wood. Thus we find when the old church ornaments were destroyed under Queen Elizabeth, that at Denton in this county a sepulchre was "sold to Johnne Orson and he haith made a presse therof to laie clothes in." Peacock's *Church Furniture*, p. 66.

† Serges are large tapers.—See Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, p. 352. The word is here used for candlesticks. Possibly then, as now in some Roman Catholic churches, the candlesticks were made to represent very large tapers.

‡ The rood was almost always a carved effigy not a painting. As, however, all the roods had been ordered to be defaced in the reign of Edward VI. when his sister Mary came to the Throne it would seem that there was a greater demand for these objects than the sculptors could supply, or that from motives of economy paintings on wood or canvas were used instead of statues. We find that in the year 1566 the little church of Awkborough "the rode, Marye and John were painted of a borde."—*Church Furniture*, p. 35. In the case of Leverton, this pictured rood was but a temporary expedient. We find that in 1557 a rood of the proper kind was ordered at Lincoln.

§ Portiforium. *Anglice:* Portuis was the common name used in this country for a breviary. The English breviaries were divided into two parts only, Hiemalis and Æstivalis.—Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* ii. p. xxii.

p̃d for a bushyll lyme toward the altares makyng . . . . iiij d.
for a frundle* lyme . . . . . ij d.
p̃d in gayng to lyncoln for to couenaunde the makyng of the Royd marye & John in expenᵭ . . . . . iiij d.
for a lytle roid to John Knyght to set vpon the crosse for ꝑcessyon . . xx d.
for bryngyng the saide roide marye & John from lyncolne x d. & for bryngynge frome boston . . . . . iiij d.
for chargᵭ in answeryng to a cytacyon for because the saide roide marye & John were not set vp in expẽs . . . . . iiij s.
for layng vp the altar stones & for washynge the clothes agenst Eastar . . xvj d.

1558.

R vpon plugh mũday for the sopperes light . . . . ij s v d.

pd. for lether hungrye for the sancᵭ bell . . . . . vj d.
to Jugge of leeke for makyng a clap to yᵉ sacrye bell . . . ob.
to John watson for borrowynge of an yron crawe . . . . j d.
for a bock callyd the artycles conᵭ certyne inquerᵭ tochynge the ꝑson & paryshiones† . . . . . ij d.
for makynge ower verdet in wrytynge at my lorde of lyncoln ‡ vysytatyon . ij d.

1559.

Resaued of willyam Wastlare§ Jun & John pullwᵭ tofte of the plowygh lyght mone . xvij d.

payd for the offeryng of sallmes day . . . . . j d.
for a bavyke of pressyssion in Lyngᵭ§ . . . . . ij d.
to the smythe for dressyng ij themellᵭ to the church yarde yaittᵭ . . j d.
for Woode att tattᵭ sall for the church porch . . . . xij s ij d.
to the wryght for ij days to mette & waygge for taykyng dowyne the sayme woode ij s iiij d.
for my nowyne chargᵭ the sayd ij days for helpynge theyre . . . x d.

* Frundele. Two pecks.—Bailey, *Dict.*

† Articles to be enquyred in thordinary Visitacion of the Lord Cardinall Pooles Grace Archebyshop of Canterbury wythin hys Dioces of Cantarbury. In the yeare of our Lorde God M.V.C.lvj.—Bohn's *Lowndes's Bibliog. Manual*, i. p. 76.

‡ Thomas Watson, S.T.P. Dean of Durham, and Master of St. John's coll. Cambridge, promoted to the see of Lincoln by papal bull, dated ix. cal. April (24 March) 1556-7. He was deprived of his bishopric on 25th June 1559. He died a prisoner in the castle of Wisbech in September 1584, and was buried in the church of St. Peter in that town on the 27th. The parish register which records his interment erroneously calls him John Watson, D.D. Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* sub nom. Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* i. 491.

§ *Quære.* A book of procession in English.

Ressauede ffor sarteyn cloysse preparede for the sawygers that wentt to scottlande* . xj s x d.
for brydelle & speres att the saym tyme. . . . . xij d.

1561.

p̃d for the booke of Comon prayor . . . . . vj s viij d.
for the Quenes Mãties Iniounctions† . . . . v d.
for removynge the Alters out of the church . . . . xiiij d.
for the table conteanynge the tenne comandementę & the newe callender . . xix d. ob.

1562.

pd to Thomas Watson & Anthony . . . for taikynge downe the Rode loofte . ij s.
for wessynge the Comunion table clothe withe the Surplice agaynst Easter . ij d.

1565.

pd for ij newe Salters . . . . . x s.
given to a pore Scoller of Oxford that had a lysence in the way of Exhibicon . ij s.
pd for the Iniunctions consynyg̃ mariag at the bysshoppes visitacõn . . iiij d.
for the bookes of the order of prayor & fastyng in the tyme of plage‡ . . xx d.
pd at the rec̃ of the Inventory of crisstenynge mariage & buryynge . . iiij d.
pd to the pit̃ for the certificate of the nomber of the house holdes of õr pishe .
(*sic*)
for the Second booke & tome of homelies . . . . . iiij s viij d.
for the boke of tharticles of the faithe§ . . . . . ij d.
to the pit̃ for the c̃tificate of the readyng of the said articles . . . iiij d.

1566.

rec̃ for the old mettall that was of the crismatory ij candelstickę a bell & other pec̃
of mettall . . . . . ij s ij d.

* The English Invasion of Scotland under Lord Grey.—Froude, vii. p. 212. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

† *Injunctions given by the Queen's Majestie, A.D.* 1559. *The fyrst yere of the raign of our soveraign Lady Quene Elizabeth.* London. 4to. Bohn's *Lowndes.*

‡ "*A Fourme to be used in Common Prayer twise a weke, and also an Order of Publique Fast to be used every Wednesday . . . . . during this time of mortalitie . . . .* Lond. 1563." A copy of this very rare form is in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Lathbury.—*Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser. viii. p. 535. This dreadful pestilence originated among the English soldiers besieged in Havre by the French. The infected garrison surrendered on the 29th July 1563. On their return home they brought the plague to this country, and spread it at once through the length and breadth of England. In London alone upwards of 21,000 persons are said to have perished.—See Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 6; *Parker Soc. Epist. Tigurinæ*, i. p. 79; *Zurich Letters*, ii. p. 109; Carte, *Hist. Eng.* iii. p. 414; Hollinshed, *Chron.* 1587, iii. p. 1205; Kennet, *Hist. Eng.* 1706, ii. p. 393; Froude, *Hist. Eng.* vii. p. 518.

§ The Articles of 1562.

of John lym for ij alter stones for stothe* stones	ij s.
ꝑd for half a seam lyme†	xiiij d.
to thomas chapman & his men for dressyng the place where the Rood loft stode & mendyng the churche porche	iiij s iiij d.
for ij booke at the Busshoppes visitacon at Boston	xij d.

1568.

ꝑd to the ꝑter for delyu̅yng us the booke of prayers agaynst the Turke & for the book‡	xvj d.
to Thomas watson for removyng the stoles in the churche where the dyvyne Sv̄ice ys Redd & for mendynge the lettern ther	iiij s.

1569.

ꝑd for wrytyng or vardyt at Mr Arch deacons visitacon at Boston § . .	iiij d.

1570.

to thomas Turpyn the gold smythe for facyonenge of the Communyon Cupp‖ weynge xij ounces	x s.
Ite̅m he putt to the same Cupp a qter & a half of an ounce of his owne sylu̅ .	ij s.
for Mr Beacons Postell¶	iiij s.
for the half of Mr Juylles boke called the appologie of Ingland . .	iiij s.
for the cariage of the same boke	iiij d.
to the ꝑitor for Mr Archdeacon's prayor	iiij d.
for the Omelies agaynst wilfull Rebellyon	x d.

* A post or upright of a wall.—*Halliwell.*

† A seam of glass is 120 lb.; of corn, eight bushels; of wood, a horse-load; of land, a fourth part of an acre. A horse-load of lime is perhaps the quantity here meant.

‡ "*A Fourme to be used in Common Prayer every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday throughout the whole Realme: to excite and stirre up all Godly People to pray for the preservation of those Christians and their countreys that are now invaded by the Turke in Hungary or elsewhere. Set furthe by The Reverend Father in God, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterburie.* Imprinted by Richard Jugge and John Cawood." This form is not dated, but it is known to have been put forth in 1566. There is a copy in Rev. Thomas Lathbury's collection.—*Notes and Queries*, 1st Ser. viii. p. 536.

§ John Aylmer, A.M. Archdeacon of Stowe, installed Archdeacon of Lincoln 6th November 1562. Made Bishop of London 1577. Strype's *Life of Aylmer*; Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii. 47. A pedigree of the family may be seen in Harl. MS. 1550, f. 135 b. The Bishop's third son John settled at Risby, in the north of the county, and was living there in 1592.

‖ This vessel yet exists, and is used for the Holy Communion. Upon the cover are engraved a lever and a tun, a pun upon the name of the village.

¶ "*A new Postil, conteining Sermons upon the Gospells by Thomas Becon.*" London, 1566. This book was reprinted the following year.

1572.

for carpett clothe to cover the comunyon table . . . .
to Robt hamond for whyppyng doggꝭ * out of the churche . . . vj d.

1574.

for a pece of woode for busshes for the bell strynges . . . ij d.
for wood for keppes stayes & lattꝭ . . . . . x d.

1575.

for yᵉ Bysshoppe of Lincoln his booke † . . . . . ij s iiij d.

1576.

ꝑd for an acreage for kirke Crofte . . . . . vj d.
for a stone & a half of hempe and femble & for maiking the same in Bellstrynꝭ . iij s xj d.

1577.

Recᵈ of the Plowe maysters . . . . . xxij s viij d.
ꝑd to wyllm kay for mendyng the coffyn . . . . . xij d.

1578.

ꝑd for mr Bullynger Booke ‡ . . . . . vj d.

1579.

ꝑd for our chargꝭ to lyncoln when we were ꝑsented by the apparytor vniustly for that our churche should by mysvsed . . . . v s vj d.

* This entry is of constant occurrence in church accounts. It would seem that almost every church had a functionary for this purpose. From a note in the late Mr. Eastwood's *History of Ecclesfield*, p. 219, it appears that the "dog noper" still exists in that parish. There was, till about fifty years ago, a small pew in Northorpe Church, known as the Hall Dog Pew, in which the dogs who followed the residents at the Hall to church were confined during divine service.

† Thomas Cooper or Cowper, S.T.P. elected Bishop of Lincoln 4th February 1570—1. Translated to Winchester, 3rd March 1583-4. Died 29th April 1594. The book which the Leverton Churchwardens purchased was probably *A briefe Exposition of Such chapters of the Old Testament as vsually are red in the Church.* 4to. London 1573. Wood's Ath. Oxon. *sub nom.* Bohn's Lowndes *sub nom.*

‡ *A hvndred Sermons vpon the Apocalips.* 4to. London 1561. Second edit. 1573.

1583.

pd to the apparitor for the caryinge of ye Collecõn for browne of Shrowsbury to Lincoln . . . . . iiij d.

pd to ffield & Etgosse for drawynge the Quenes Matę Armes & Scripturynge cten textes in ye church & pulpett . . . . . xlv s.

1585.

for bread and ale to ye ryngers on St hewe * day . . . . xiiij d.

1586.

for a booke of articles for wednesdays & frydais . . . . vij d.

1588.

pd for a newe Bible . . . . . xlvj s viij d.

for candle & grease againste the two ringinge nightę . . . vj d.

for a pare of Jembles † for the stoole dore . . . . . x d.

for bringing home the stoole by wat . . . . . viij d.

for a newe stoole makinge ‡ . . . . . xx s.

1589.

for a webb of leade . . . . . xij s iij d.

to Peter maure for 7 hundred thack tiles § . . . . xxxj d.

for a thousand brick . . . . . xij s vj d.

for a wine Bottell . . . . . iiij d.

for iiij mens dynners at the visitation court at Donington . . . ij s.

for a Catechisme there . . . . . xiiij d.

1592.

pd to Carleton in moreland ‖ . . . . . ij s.

1593.

Received of Thomas garthe for the buriall of Mistres Robertson in the churche . ix s iiij d.

* St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, 1186—1200. His feast-day is the 17th of November. This was also the day on which Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne. It was probably on this latter account that the bells were rung.

† Hinges; the provincial name is now Gimmers.

‡ Was the "new stoole" a reading-desk ?

§ Flat tiles for roofing.

‖ This was probably for a brief. Carlton le Moorland is a village in the parts of Kesteven, co. Lincoln, about 7 miles E.N.E. of Newark.

1595.

ꝑd to the apparitor for fallt̄ in the churche	ij s viij d.
for playing in the churche	iij s viij d.
to Lincoln Jaill the xxi day of december	iiij s xd.
to Mr ffendicke for the maimed souldiours	ij s iiij d.
at the Scessions for the releiſe of the poore Soldiours . . .	ij s vj d.
to the apparator for sufferinge a plaie in the church	iij s viijd.

1596.

ꝑd for a Booke of prayer concerninge the good success of the queenes maiesties navie	vj d.
for Sope against St hughe day	iij d.
for Bread on St hughes even	iij d.

1598.

ꝑd mr ffendicke at lammas tyme for the Kinges marshall benche . .	ij s.

1599.

ꝑd for parchm̃t for the newe Regester booke	vij s.
ꝑd for makeing & writtinge therin Baptizemige marryage and buriall̄ that conteyned in the old Regester booke	xiij s. iiij d.
to Mr ffendick high constable for the relief of maymed souldiers & Hospitall houses	iiij s viij d.

1600.

Receaved for the old Service booke	....
ꝑd for two matt̄ for the porche binchers	x d.
for removeinge the crose in the church yard and Layinge the stone vp for writtinge accompt̄ on	viij d.

1603.

ꝑd a contribution to Genevy for ye monthe of December . . .	xij d.

1604.

ꝑd for the booke of Canans	xviij d.

1605.

ꝑd for a table of Consanguinitie & õr Article booke	x d.
ꝑd Ralf Allman for 5 daies worke Raissinge & mendinge ye webbes on the north side of the church & for Sawtheringe in some other places . .	
ꝑd to Thoms Jenkinson brickmayson for chalke haire & spetches (*sic*) . .	iij s x d.

for a puter comunion pott . . . . . ij s vj d.
for a newe prayer booke for ye kinge^s^ mate^s^ saffe deliuance . . . viij d.
for writtinge the order of placinge all th' inhabitante in their stooles in the churche viij d.

1611.

to a breefe yt came from Spaldinge . . . . . ij s.
for ayle on plowmunday . . . . . xij d.

1612.

Recd for bread and wyne of j d. a poule * . . . . . xviij s iij d.
for a breefe for Sñt Albons church . . . . . ij s vj d.
to John ffoster for his daies waige when we went to se boston old pulpute † . xij d.
to Mr Camacke for three wayne scotes for the newe pulpit . . . xxj s.

Extracts from the Accounts of the Overseers of the Poor, 1563—1598.

1565.

A Testimoniall delivered the second Sonday aftr eastr 1563 given to Jamys vryn procter of the howse cauled Lock in the countie of Surry . . vj d.
to one that came with a testymoniall from Dounã in Norfolke . . . iiij d.
to patrick madawle pctor for the hospitall of Enfeld in mydd . . . vj d.
to wiffm Stephynson pctor for the pore howse of Malton in Rydall . . vj d.
to wiffm Stephynson pctor for the porehouse of Malton in Rydall . . vj d.
to a mã of market Rason . . . . . viij d.
given towards the maikynge of Sprott Brygge . . . . . vij d.
to Thomas Wright pctor for the pore hospitall of lowthe ‡ . . . viij d.
to John Broke & Ric Richardson pore scholers of Oxford on the Sonday next aftr Eastr . . . . . xij d.
to Stephyn Tompson of Burton Stature § for that he ys mamed the sixte day of June 1566 . . . .
pd for a purse . . . . . j d.

* The collection for the elements for the Holy Eucharist. The inhabitants paid one penny a head.

† Probably the pulpit now in use in Boston church was made about this time. Its ornamental carvings would lead to the conclusion that it was not older than the time of James I.

‡ The lodge for poor men was a thatched building situate on the north of the parish church at Louth. It was in existence in 1496. When or how it ceased to exist is unknown. It has not been traced lower than the reign of Elizabeth.—*Notitiæ Ludæ*, p. 208.

§ Burton-on-Stather in the north of the county.

1565.

the 5 of August 1565 to John Buckell ꝑctor for the porehouse at Cambridge . vj d.

1569.

given to . . . . . Thompson w'th one stilte* . . . . . vj d.

1570.

given to . . . . . Cook & petr̃ Robertes of whytebay marioners . . xij d.
given to towe ꝑsoners of lincoln withe a keper . . . . . vj d.

1571.

given to David phillipp ꝑctor of the pore howse at Mile end in Mydd . . vj d.
given to a pore maꝰ havinge a lycence by the lord Willoughby † & Serjent Wrey‡ . vj d.

1572.

given to Thomas Ranzard scholer of Cambridge towards exhibic̃on . . iij s iiij d.
to a pore scholer of Tattrsall . . . . . vj d.
to Ale Berowes and Katheryne Vaugħn of cornewell . . . vj d.
to Thomas Berry a pore scholer of Oxford . . . . xvj d.

1573.

gyven to Rof Robson ꝑctor of the howse of Jesus in lowthe . . . iiij d.
gyven to Owyn Willȝams ꝑctor for the pore howse of Jesus in Cambrige . . vj d.
gyven to v maryoners that were robbed by pyratte . . . . xij d.

1574.

to ij Sawdyars that were marryd in Ireland . . . . viij d.
gyven for the discharge of John Towtynge his excomynacion . . . vij s.
gyven to the Towneshippe of Sybsey for the repaire of yr churche . . iij s iiij d.
gyven to a lameman that lede a blynd mā . . . . vj d.

* A crutch.

† Richard Bertie, son and heir of Thomas Bertie of Bersted, co. Kent, married Catherine Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who was in her own right Baroness Willoughby of Eresby. He died 9th April 1582. Brydges' Collins' *Peerage*, ii. p. v. Lady Georgiana Bertie, *Five Generations of a Loyal House.*

‡ Sir Christopher Wray, Kt. was born at Bedale, co. York. He was a student at Buckingham College, afterwards Magdalen College, Cambridge, and was admitted at Lincoln's Inn, 6th February 1544-5. In 1574 he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. He lived at Glentworth Hall, in the parts of Lindsay, about thirteen miles north of Lincoln. His death took place 7th May 1592. A stately monument covers his dust in the parish church of Glentworth, whereon he is represented in his official robes.

1575.

given for the discharge of Agnes Towtynge her discharge of excom̃unication .	ij s vj d.
gyven to John Smythe and Thomas Staueley Sawdyors in Ireland . .	viij d.
gyven to certen players	xij d.

1576.

pd to the Crowner for the deathe of James Sympson . . .	iiij d.

1580.

geuen to John Totynge and his wyf towardꝭ y^{9} release & y^{9} children . .	viij s vj d.
a collection gatherd in the churche of Leũton by ye churche wardens for & to wards the holynge of Beckewys Arme pd to ye surgion . . .	vij s j d ob.

1581.

for a pare of showen for Totynge boye	xij d.

1587.

pd to willm westland for the keeping of younge Rainslie for the space of xiiij daies & for the healing of his legge whiche was bitten by a dogge . .	ij s.

1594.

paide for vj yardꝭ of clothe to make twoo wenches cotes the some of . .	ix s.
paide for a paire of shooes for the townesman the some of . . .	xv d.
paid for his gaskins*	xij d.

1598.

to a poore man w'th the broad seale	vj d.
to the Admiral seal	vj d.
for a winding sheet for Ralph Tompson	xxij d.
to the clark for his buriall	iiij d.
to Layna^{9} wife for winding him	iiij d.
for a statute book	iij s.

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* Gally-gaskins—wide loose trowsers. The term is still used in Yorkshire.

XVIII.—*Some account of an Unpublished Collection of Songs and Ballads by King Henry VIII. and his Contemporaries. By* WILLIAM CHAPPELL, *Esq. F.S.A.*

Read May 16th, 1867.

A MANUSCRIPT volume of songs, ballads, and instrumental music, which once belonged to Henry VIII, has recently been brought to light, and it is of interest, not merely for restoring a large number of songs of which no other copies are now known, but also because some among them were written by the King himself, within the first three or four years of his reign. Henry was then so much the subject of his own songs, that these are of material assistance in forming a judgment of his early character.

The manuscript is on vellum, bound in wood, and covered with leather stamped with roses and fleurs-de-lis. The size of the cover is 13 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$, and it was once held together by two clasps, which have now disappeared. On the fly-leaf, in a hand of the time (probably that of one of his librarians) is "Henricus Dei gra. Rex Anglie."

Such of the songs and ballads as were written and composed by the King, have "The Kynge H. VIII." in the centre of the page at the top; while those of his musicians and of others have their several names appended, in the usual way, at the end of the song.*

The volume contains 112 pieces of music, of which 63 are vocal and 49 instrumental. They are chiefly for three or four voices, or instruments.

Of the entire number only five are to be found in duplicate in the British Museum. A sixth, "I have been a Foster long and many a day," differs in the sequel from a song under the same title in the British Museum, MS. Add. No. 5665.

The first of the before-named five is the ballad by Anthony Woodvyle, Earl Rivers, "Sumwhat musing and more mo[u]rning," which, according to Rouse, was written during the Earl's imprisonment in Pontefract Castle in 1483. This was transcribed by Ritson from the Fairfax MS. [now No. 5465 of the Addit. MSS.] and published in his *Ancient Songs*.

The second, third, and fourth, which were printed in my *Popular Music of the*

* Plate XVI. p. 372, gives a reduced facsimile (from photographs taken by H. W. Diamond, Esq. M.D. Hon. Photographer S. A. L.) of two pair of pages of the MS.; the two upper pages containing the King's Song printed on the next page—the two lower a "trolly lolly," set by Cornishe.

Olden Time, are "Pastyme with good Company," by Henry VIII., "Ah, the syghes that com fro my hart," and "Blow thy horne, hunter," both now proved to be by William Cornish, one of the gentlemen of Henry's Chapel. I copied the first from Addit. MSS. No. 5665, the second and third from Append. to Royal MSS. No. 58.

The fifth song "If I had wytt for to endyght," is still unpublished, but is also included in the last-named MS.

Even in these the present copy is of use, as often supplying better readings, both of music and of words; for instance, in Earl Rivers's ballad, it is far more probable that he wrote

Such is my *chaunce*,
Willyng to dye.

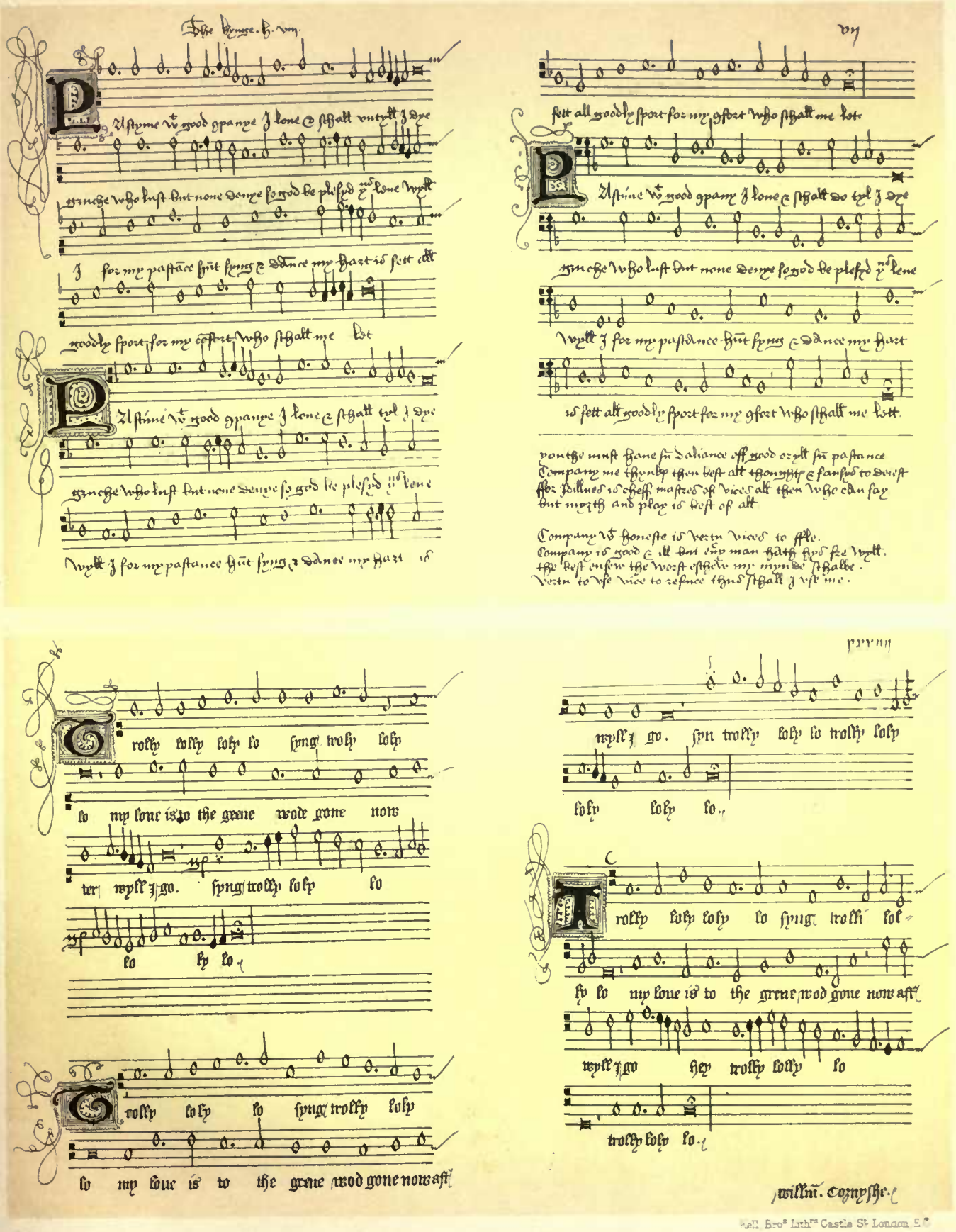
than "Such is my *dawnce*," as in the copy followed by Ritson.

The first of the vocal pieces in the MS. is Henry's once popular song, "Pastyme with good Company." This, in the manuscript formerly in Ritson's possession and now Addit. MS. No. 5665 in the British Museum, is entitled "The Kyngis Balade;" nevertheless Ritson ascribed it very doubtingly to Henry VIII. It reads thus:—

The Kynge h. viij.

Pastyme with good companye
I love, & shall untyll I dye:
Gruche who lust—but none denye—
So God be plesyd, thus leve wyll I:
For my pastance
Hunt, syng and dance—
My hart is sett!
All goodly sport
For my comfort
Who shall me let?

Youth must have sum daliance,
Of good or yll sum pastance;
Company me thynkes then best
All thoughtes & fansys to dejest;
ffor idillness
Is cheff mastres
Of vices all;
Then who can say
But myrth and play
Is best of all?



Hall, Bros Lithrs Castle St London E.C.

M.S. MUSIC, TEMP. HENRY VIII.TH

(Reduced Facsimile.)

Published by the Society of Anuquaries of London. 1868.

Company with honesté
Is vertu—vices to ffle—
Company is good and ill,
But every man hath hys fré wyll;
The best ensew,
The worst eschew.
My mynde shal be
Vertu to use,
Vice to refuce—
Thus shall I use me."—(p. 24-25 of the MS.)

Bishop Latimer made this ballad the subject of one of his sermons before Edward the Sixth. He wished to instil into Edward a higher view of what "Pastyme with good Company" should be, than he would gather from his father's ballad, and on that account he took it, almost as a text, for his second sermon before the young King.

Latimer says: "Yet a King may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures, but he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more lusty: and this is called *Pastime with good Company*." (*Parker Soc. edit. p.* 120). And again: "So your Grace must learn to do of Salomon—ye must take your petition [to God] now study, now pray—they must be yoked together, and this is called *Pastime with good Company*." (*idem p.* 125).

That these allusions should have passed unnoticed by the learned editor of Latimer's works (versed rather in theology than in ballads) is not surprising, but that they should previously have escaped the acute eye of Ritson is singular. That he had read Latimer's Sermons is shown by his quoting them in his *Robin Hood*, and the comparison of dates proves that he had the manuscript, in which "Pastime with good Company" is called "The Kyngis Balade," four years at least in his possession before he published his *Historical Essay on Scotish Song*. It is in a note to that essay, where "Pastance vitht gude Company" is mentioned first in the list of "sueit sangis" in Wedderburn's *Complainte of Scotlande*, that Ritson says: "This is a song by our Henry the eighth *as is supposed*."

The placing it first in the list of sweet songs in a Scotch publication may be taken as further evidence of its former popularity; indeed the music is pleasing and easy, and such as would suit the popular taste. Henry had pleaded in the ballad, that "Youthe must have sum daliance." In the next song in the MS. he

illustrates his maxim by a little French song of four lines, addressed to his mistress :—

Adieu, Madam, et ma mastres !
Adieu, mon solas et ma joye !
Adieu vous diz par graunt tristesse ;
Adieu, jusque vous revoye !—(p. 30-31.)

This is immediately followed by another of his French songs, and of the same stamp :—

Helas, Madame! celle que jeme tant,
Soffres que soie voutre humble servant !
Je seray a vous
A tousiours,
E, tant que vivray,
Aultre n'aimeray
Que vous.—(p. 32-33.)

The idea of the first of these is repeated in an English dress, with other music, by the King :—

O, my hart ! & O, my hart !
My hart it is so sore,
Sens I must nedys from my love depart,
And know no cause wherfore.—(p. 40-41.)

Henry next expresses his desire to retain the affection of the lady in the following song :—

Alas, what shall I do for love ?
Alas what shall I do,
(Syth now so kynd
I do yow fynde)
To *kepe* yow me unto ?—(p. 36-37.)

Then he professes his own constancy in a song with the burden coming in at the end of every second line :

Grene growth the holy, so doth the ivé,
Thow winters blastys blow never so hye.

As the holy growith grene & never chaungyth hew
So I am—ever hath bene—unto my lady trew.
Grene growth, &c.

As the holy grouth grene, with ivé all alone,
When flowerys can not be sene and grene wode levys be gone,

Now unto my lady, promyse to her I make,
ffrome all other, ōnlȳ to *her* I me be take.
Adew, myne owne ladỳ, adew, my specyàll,
Who hath my hart trewly, be suere, and ever shall."—(p. 70-71.)

We have no clue to the lady to whom these songs were addressed, but possibly the first line of the following "Hey trolly lolly," may have been her picture:—

My love is lusty, plesant and demure
That hath my hart in cure.
Hey trolly lolly.
As the hauke to the lure
So my hart to her I ensure.
Hey trolly lolly.
Glad to do her plesure,
And thus I wyll endure.
Hey trolly lolly.—(p. 155.)

Henry then justifies his amours in another song with the burden

Let not us, that yong men be,
From Venus ways banysht to be.

Thow that age, with gret dysdayne,
Wold have yougth love to refrayn,
In ther myndys consyder they must
How *thay* dyd in ther most lust.

ffor yougth ys frayle & prompt to doo,
As well vices as vertuus to ensew;
Wher for be this he must be gydyd,
And vertuus pastaunce must theryn be usyd.

Now unto God this prayer we make
That this rude play may well be take,
And that we may ower fauttys a mend,
And blysse opteyne at ower last end. Amen.—(p. 170-171.)

There are eighteen songs and ballads and fifteen instrumental pieces that bear the King's name in the volume, but there are also others, where the scribe has omitted the name of the author, which from identity of style and thought, from the use of the same words and rhymes, may safely be ascribed to the King. The two last quoted are among the number. Such omissions are chiefly in the latter part of the MS. In two places eight consecutively, in a third place five, and in

a fourth, four songs have no author assigned to them. The following declaration of Henry's has his name in the body of the song, but not at the head. It begins with a burden of four lines repeated at the end of every fourth line, and ends with a prayer like the last :—

Though sum say that youghth rulyth me,
I trust in age to tarry :
God & my ryght, & my dewtye,
From them shall I never vary.

I pray you all that aged be,
How well dyd ye your yougth carry ?
I thynk sum wars[e] of ych degre,
Ther in a wager lay dar I.
Though sum, &c.

Pastymes of yougth sum tyme among
None can say but necessary :
I hurt no man, I do no wrong,
I love trew where I dyd mary.
Though sum, &c.

Then sone dyscusse that hens we must,
Pray we to God & seynt Mary
That all amend—And here an end—
Thus sayth the Kyng, the VIIIth Harry.—(p. 138 to 141.)

Such a resolution as that of giving up pleasure only when too old any longer to enjoy it, and the taking credit for it in advance, are quite characteristic of Henry. It was never present, but only future self-denial that he would promise. All this time he was professing love for the Queen, not only in his songs, but also writing to her father, Ferdinand, that, if unmarried, he would choose Katharine again before any other woman in the world.

His determination to follow his bent is again portrayed in the following :—

Lusti youtgthe should us ensew
Hys mery hart shall sure all rew :
For what so ever thay do hym tell,
It ys not for hym—we know yt well.

ffor they wold have hym hys libertye refrayne,
And all mery company for to dys-dayne ;
But I wyll not so, what so ever they say,
But follow hys mynd in all that we may.—(p. 184-185.)

In two other of his songs, Henry expresses himself as one who considered this kind of general love-making a privilege and sign of nobility. The first is as follows :—

If love now reynyd, as it hath bene,
And war rewardit, as it hath sene,
Nobyll men then wold suer enserch
All ways, wher by thay myght it rech :
But envy reynyth with such [dysdayne]
A[s] causith lovers outwardly to refrayne !
Which puttes them to, more & more,
(Inwardly most grevous & sore)
The faut in whome I can not sett
But let them them tell which love doth gett.
To lovers, I put now suer this cace,
Which of ther loves doth get them grace;
And, unto them which doth it know
Better than I do, I thynk it so.—(p. 93.)

The second (in which he tells us that to disdain love is a sign of humble birth) runs thus :—

Thow that men do call it dotage,
Who lovyth not wantith corage ;
And who so ever may love gete
ffrom Venus sure he must it fett,
Or ells ffrom her which is her hayre,
And she to hym must seme most fayre.
With ee & mynd doth both agre;
Ther is no bote—ther must it be.
The ee doth loke & represent,
But mynd affermyth with full consent,
Thus am I fyxed withowt gruge,
Mine ey, with hart, doth me so juge.
Love maynteyneth all noble courage ;
Who love dys-dayneth ys all of the village :
Soch lovers, though they [may] take payne,
It were peté thay shuld optayne ;
For often tymes, wher they do sewe,
Thay hynder lovers that wolde be trew ;
ffor whoso lovith shuld love but oone—
Chaunge whoso wyll, I wyll be none.—(p. 106-107.)

Such then was the character of Henry's love-songs, and such his excuses for his amours. The virtue that he so constantly professed may be accorded to him in

the sense of strength, manliness, and courage, but certainly not in that of moral perfection. We are told that he composed masses and anthems that were often sung in his chapel. Only one of the latter is extant, and his selection of words will not alter the impression of his character derived from his love-songs. He chose from the Vulgate translation of the *Canticorum Canticum*, Cap. vij. beginning: "Quam pulchra es et quam decora, carissima in deliciis! Statura tua assimilata est palmæ, et ubera tua botris;" and ended at "Ibi dabo tibi ubera mea." Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who wrote his life, palliates his amours, for that, "being of a replete sanguine bulk, he had more *matter* for the heat of concupiscence to work upon." "Neither," says Lord Herbert, "were his two contemporaries, Charles and Francis, less peccant in this kinde, for they had their *amourettes*, their *Indebita Vasa*, and divers natural children."

Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, says, that King Henry, "who hated not a faire woman," used to take his standard-bearer, Sir Andrew Flamock, in his barge, to entertain him when he went to visit a fair lady whom he loved, and who was lodged in the tower of the palace at Greenwich. The King blew his horn at his entrance into the park, as the signal of his approach, and on one occasion began a song:—

Within this towre
There lieth a flowre
That hath my hart, &c.

Now there is one love-song in the manuscript addressed to the King by some lady for whose sake, she tells us, the King had tilted at the ring, and in six courses had taken it four times, but that is the only clue her song affords to the authorship. If any excuse could be made for Henry it would be from his receiving such amative addresses as this. As Sir John Hawkins says of a similar but less explicit declaration, there is in this "great simplicity of style and sentiment, and a frankness discoverable on the lady's part, not warranted by the manners of the present time." The burden of the song is:

Whilles lyve or breth is in my brest
My soverayne lord I shall love best.

My soverayne lord, for my poure sake,
Six courses at the ryng dyd make,
Of which four tymes he did it take:
Wher for my hart I hym beqwest,
And, of all other, for to love best
My soverayne lord.

My soverayne lorde of pusant[ce] pure
As the chefteyne of a waryowere,
With spere & swerd at the barryoure—
As hardy with the hardyest
He provith hym selfe, that I sey, best
My soverayne lord.

My soverayne lorde, in every thyng
Above all other—as a kyng—
In that he doth no comparyng :
But, of a trewth, he worthyest is
To have the prayse of all the best,
My soverayne lorde.

My soverayne lorde when that I mete
His cherfull continaunce doth replete
My hart with joé ; that I behete,
Next God, but he : and ever prest
With hart & body to love best
My soverayne lorde.

So many virtuse, gevyn of grace,
Ther is none one lyve that hace—
Beholde his favor and his face,
His personage most godlyest !
A vengeance on them that loveth nott best
My soverayne lorde.

The soverayne Lorde that is of all
My soverayne lorde save, principall !
He hath my hart & ever shall.
Of God I ask—for hym request—
Of all gode fortu[n]es to send him best
My soverayne lorde.—(p. 104-105.)

As this song bears only the name of "W. Cornyshe" in the manuscript, we may infer that it was given to him by the lady to set to music. A lady's production it must be.

This William Cornish deserves a place in our biographical dictionaries. He was a poet, an elegant and melodious composer, and a Gentleman of the Chapel to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. In the latter reign he became, eventually, "Master of the Kyng's Chapell" (16 Henry VIII.), and he seems to have died before 1526, because in that year Crane was Master of the Children.

We first read of Cornish in 1493, when, in Henry VII.'s Privy Purse expenses, a payment was made on the 12th of November "to one Cornysshe for a prophecy,

in rewarde, 13*s.* 4*d.*", and on Christmas day, 1502, a similar sum for a Christmas Carol. In 1504, one of his poems, entitled "A Treatise betwene Trouth and Informacion," was superscribed "In the fleete, made by me William Cornishe, otherwise called Nyshewhete, Chapelman with the most famose and noble Kyng Henry the VII. his reygne the 19 yere, the moneth of July." As one of the King's servants, and dating from the Fleet prison, we may suppose that he had fallen under the displeasure of the Star Chamber—perhaps for some "prophecy" or ballad, not so agreeable to the King as the former. The semi-disguise of his name, changing "corn" into "wheat" and transposing the syllables, seems to shew that he had written some things that he did not wish to avow. However this may be, he was eventually restored to the favour of the King, for in the last year of his reign, viz. in December 1508, we again find, "To Mr. Kyte, Cornishe, and other of the Chapell that played affore the King at Richmonte, £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*"

At the commencement of Henry VIII.'s reign, Stowe tells us of a ballad against Sir Richard Empson, which was written by "Cornish of the King's Chappell" at the request of the Earl of Kent. Stowe had seen "many opprobrious rhymes" against Empson and Dudley, but specifies only this. The payments of Henry VII. to Cornish are altogether thrown into the shade by one in the 8th year of Henry VIII. "Novr. To Master Cornisshe Gentylman of the King's Chapell, upon a warrant, in rewarde £200."

We may infer that Cornish was intimate with Skelton, first, from the fact of his *Treatise betwene Trouth and Information* having been printed, with his name, in the first collected edition of Skelton's works (1568); and, secondly, because two, if not all three of the musical compositions by Cornish in the Fairfax MS. are to words by Skelton. The first is Skelton's "Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale:"—

Ah besherewe yow, be my fay,
This wanton clarkes be nyse all way,
Avent, avent, my popajay! &c.

The second is one of Skelton's religious songs, beginning

Woffully araid,
My blood, man,
For thé ran, &c.

The third is a satire upon drunken Netherlanders in England, entitled "Hoyda, joly Rutterkyn," beginning

Rutterkyn is com unto oure towne
In a cloke, without cote or gowne
Save a ruggid hode to kover his crowne,
Like a rutter hoyda, &c.

This last, if not Skelton's, is at least alluded to by him in his Interlude entitled *Magnyfycence*, where Courtly Abusyon first sings

Rutty bully, joly rutterkyn, heyda !

and then says

Am I not a joly rutter ?

The Rev. Alexander Dyce first pointed out the probability of this being by Skelton, and printed the words in a note to Skelton's works.

The three above-named songs, and a "Salve, Regina cœlorum" (in Harl. MSS. 1709), are all the music that bears the name of William Cornish in the library of the British Museum. In the present MS. we have twelve more of his compositions (eleven vocal and one for instruments); and of the twelve, only two, "Ah the syghes that com fro my hart," and "Blow thy horne, hunter," are known to exist elsewhere.

One of the recovered songs is

My love she morneth for me, for me,
My love she morneth for me.—(p. 56-57.)

which has long been sought for, it having been known only through a religious parody in "*Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spirituall Songs*," printed in Edinburgh, for the second time, by Andro Hart in 1621.

The following ballad, also by Cornish, is more in the style of his *Treatise betwene Trouth and Information*. It has for burden, at the end of every second line:—

You & I, & Amyas,
To the grene wod must we go.—(p. 86-87.)

Supposing the name of Amyas not to have been taken at random (it was not for rhyme), and that Sir Amyas Poulet may have been intended, the ballad must have been written quite early in Henry's reign, and so far agree in date with the other contents of the manuscript. When Wolsey became Chancellor, he confined Sir Amyas to the gatehouse of the Middle Temple, and kept him there for five or six years, because he had most arbitrarily put Wolsey in the stocks when he went to take possession of his first preferment. This was the living of Lymington, in Somersetshire, given to him by the Marquess of Dorset, to whose sons Wolsey was then tutor at Oxford. Such a guide to a date may be frail, but others will follow.

The words of the ballad are

The Knyght knockett at the castell gate,
The Lady mervelyd who was ther at,

To call the porter he wold not blyn—
The Lady said he shuld not com in.
The Portres was a Lady bryght,
Strangénes that Lady hyght,
She asked hym what was his name—
He said, " Desyre, your man, Madame."
She said, " Desyre, what do ye here?"
He said, " Madame, as your prisonèr."
He was cownsellèd to breffe a byll [write a petition]
And shew my Lady his owne wyll.
Kyndnes said, she wold yt bere,
And Pyté said, she wold be ther—
Thus, how thay dyd, we can nott say,
We left them ther & went ower way.

At p. 44 is a song by one of Henry's musicians named ffaredynge or Farthing :—

Aboffe all thynge
Now lete us synge
Both day & nyght.

Adew, mornyng,
A bud is spryngynge
Of the red rose and the whyght.

The next is an anonymous production, rather words intervening in an instrumental piece than a song.

Adieu, adieu le company !
I trust we shall mete oftener,
Vive le Katerine et vive le prince
Le infant Rosary.—(p. 144.)

The date of this can scarcely be other than 1511.

" On new yeeres day " (1511) says Stowe, " at Richmond the Queen was delivered of a prince, to the great rejoicing of the whole realme. He was named Henry, but deceased on the 23rd of February next following, at Richmond, and was buried at Westminster."

" In November 1514, the Queen was (again) delivered of a prince, who lived not long after." These were the only sons of Henry by either of the Queens named Katherine.

As to the second birth, Mr. Brewer remarks : " No notice of this event is found among any of the official documents, no rejoicings at his birth as on the previous occasion, and no notice of its burial. Probably it was still-born."

The date of the first birth agrees with others that follow in the MS. and with

the King's oft repeated plea of youth. We may assume that the song was written before the christening, as the child is not called Henry, but the infant Rosary, a title perhaps suggested by the King's badge of the rose, combined with a complimentary prophecy as to the prince's future piety and prayerful disposition.

The next indications of date are at pages 196 and 201 of the MS., and after these, there remain but twelve compositions, occupying the remaining forty-two pages. As Holinshed tells us that about this time, even in his progresses, Henry "exercised himselfe dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wressling, casting the barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballades," we may infer that even the production of the twelve compositions (nine vocal and three instrumental) would not occupy the King any long time. But the number is reduced to eight, since four of the nine vocal pieces are by others.

The song, at p. 196, shews Henry about to make war against the French King on behalf of the Pope. It is as follows :—

England, be glad ! pluck up thy lusty hart !
Help now thy Kyng, thy Kyng, & tak his part
Ageynst the Frenchmen in the feld to fyght
In the quarell of the Church, & in the ryght !
With spers and sheldys, on goodly horses lyght,
Bowys and arows to put them all to flyght,
Helpe now thy Kyng.—(p. 196-197.)

The next is a Round, or Canon in unison, at page 201 :—

Pray we to God, that all may guide,
That for our Kyng, so to provid,
To send hym power to hys corage
He may acheffe this gret viage.
Now let us syng this Rownd, all thre,
Seynt George graunt hym the victory !

Now, as to the date. "About this season," says Stowe, (*i. e.* in the autumn of 1511,) "the French King made sharp warre against Pope July, [Julius II.] wherefore the King of England wrote to the French King [Lewis XII.] that he should leave off to vexe the Pope in such wise, being his friend and confederate; but when the French King seemed little to regard that request, the King sent him word to deliver to him his inheritance, both of the Dutchy of Normandy and Guyen, and the counties of Anjou and Main, and also his crown of France; or else he would come with a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose :

but notwithstanding, the French King pursued his warres in Italy; whereupon the King of England joined in league with Maximilian the Emperor, and Ferdinando King of Spaine, and with divers other princes, resolved by the advice of his council, to make war on the French King and his countries, and made preparation both by sea and land."

English troops were shipped to Biscay in May 1512, and in the following November Henry called Parliament together, when it was decided that he should invade France in person. He reached Calais on the 30th of June 1513.

As Henry did not again make war for the Pope against the French, we may infer that so far as this page all in the MS. was written before June 1513.

There are two other pieces worth noting. The first is a specimen of the pre-reformation religious ballad, and rather quaint. It is the only one of that class in the MS. A dialogue between the Virgin and the Infant Jesus, set to music by one of Henry's musicians named Pygott, with a burden in Latin.

Quid petis, o fili?
Mater dulcissima, ba, ba.
O Pater, O fili,
Mihi [*prorsus**] *oscula da, da.*

The moder full manerly & mekly as a mayd,
Lokyng on her litell son, so laughyng in lap layd,
So pratyly, so pertly, so passingly well apayd,
Full softly & full soberly unto her son she said,
Quid petis, o fili?

I mene this by Mary, our maker's moder of myght,
Full lovely lookyng on our Lord, the lanterne of lyght:
Thus saying to oure Saviour—this saw I in my syght—
This reson that I rede you now, I rede [you] it full ryght,
Quid petis, o fili?

Musyng on her maners, so ny marde was my mayne,
Save it plesyt me so passyngly that past was my payne,
Yet softly to her swet son methought I hard her sayn,
Now, gracious God & goode swete babe, yet ons this game agayne.
Quid petis, o fili?—(p. 220-227.)

The second is also a dialogue, but rather of a pastoral character. It is the last in the MS. and in another hand, but one of the same time.

Hey troly loly lo, Mayde, whether go you?
I go to the medow to mylke my cowe—

* "plausus" in the MS.

Than at the medow I wyll you mete
To gather the flowres both fayre & swete—
Nay, God forbede, that may not be,
I wysse my mother then shall us se.

Now in this medow fayre & grene
We may us sporte & not be sene,
And yf ye wyll I shall consent,
How sey you, mayde, be you content ?—
Nay, in goode fayth, I wyll not melle with you,
I pray you, Sir, lett me go mylke my cow.

Why, wyll ye not give me no comforte,
That now in the feldys we may us sportt ?
Nay, God forbede, that may not be,
I wysse my mother then shall us se.

Ye be so nyce & so mete of age
That ye gretly move my corage ;
Syth I love you, love me agayne,
Let us make one thoughe we be twayne—
Nay, in goode feyth, I wyll not melle with you,
I pray you, Sir, let me go mylke my cow.

Ye have my hert, say what ye wyll,
Wherefore ye muste my mynde fulfyll
And graunte me here your maydynhed,
Or els for you I shal be ded !—
Nay, in good feyth, &c.

Then for this onse I shall you spare,
But the nexte tyme ye must beware
How in the medow ye mylke your cow !
Adew, farewell, and kysse me now—
Nay, in goode feyth, I wylle not melle with you,
I pray you, Sir, let me go mylk my cow.

The history of this MS. is not very clear. From some scribblings at the end it seems to have been in the parish of Benenden, in Kent. Among them are "Sir John Leed in the Parishe of Benynden;" "Syr John Berde in the Parishe of Benenden." These Sir Johns were probably incumbents of Benenden, as no such knights are to be traced. The Rev. Lambert Larking suggests to me that, as Hempsted, now the seat of the Right Honourable Gathorne Hardy, and formerly that of the Guildfords, is in the parish of Benenden, the book may have been left there. Sir Henry Guilford, or Guldeford, was, at the time in question, Comp-

troller of the King's household, K. G., and high in the King's favour. Royal visits to Hempsted were not infrequent. It is possible that on one of these occasions the book may have been taken for the King to sing from, and left behind, or that it was borrowed for the purpose of transcribing some of the songs, and forgotten.

About a hundred years ago it was in the possession of Stephen Fuller, of Hart Street, Bloomsbury; his name is written on the first leaf of the music, and his book plate is under that of Archibald, Earl of Eglinton, its next possessor. The Earl's only surviving child and heiress married, secondly, Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart. of Beauport Park, Sussex. This lady brought the personal property of the Montgomeries into the Lamb family; and this volume, with other relics, came into the possession of Mrs. Lamb, mother of the present baronet, through her marriage with the only son of Sir Charles M. Lamb, by his wife Lady Mary Montgomerie. To Mrs. Lamb we are indebted for the loan of the MS. this evening.

XIX.—*Observations on the Details of Vespasian's first Campaign in Britain.*

By CHARLES WARNE, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read June 6th, 1867.

WHILST the progress of Cæsar from the shores of Gaul to the place of his landing in Britain, and his subsequent advance into the interior of the country, are regarded as subjects worthy of the attention of men of the highest eminence in antiquarian and classical science, it may seem somewhat strange that their researches should have stopped there, and that comparatively little consideration has been bestowed on the progress of those military expeditions which ultimately led to the subjugation of the whole of Britain, and its incorporation with the great Roman Empire.

It seems that by tacit consent antiquaries are content to rest satisfied with the few brief notices of very important facts that have been handed down in the pages of history, without taking the trouble to verify them by the light of actual investigation.

Under a conviction of what may be achieved by this method of inquiry, it is my object in this essay to invite attention, for the first time I believe, to a remarkable series of earthworks in Dorsetshire, which, in my opinion, is intimately related to those military operations which were undertaken by one of Rome's most successful generals in carrying out the great scheme of the invasion of Britain.

That general will be at once recognised as Vespasian. At the period when Claudius was making his attempt on Britain, Vespasian held a command in Germany; but, being called upon to take part in the enterprise, he brought over with him the "Legio Secunda" or "Augusta," of which he was legate, and seems to have taken up his position at Vectis.

This occurrence is thus alluded to by Suetonius; "Claudio principe, Narcissi gratiâ, legatus legionis in Germaniam missus est (Vespasianus), inde Britan-

niam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflixit. Duas validissimas gentes, superque viginti oppida, et insulam Vectem, Britanniæ proximam, in ditionem redegit."[a]

And briefly Eutropius; "Vespasianus huic (Vitellio) successit, privata vita illustris, ut qui a Claudio in Germaniam, deinde in Britanniam missus, tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit, duas validissimas gentes, xx oppida, insulam Vectem, Britanniæ proximam, imperio Romano adjicerit."[b]

Seldom have fewer words comprised more important facts, and we may well deplore the brevity of narratives which veils a transaction whose details, pregnant with history, would have been for us subjects of the most stirring interest.

Imagination may supply much that is wanting, and convert many a lofty height, many a wide-spread plain, and many a quiet valley into historic sites as scenes of heroic deeds, where the brave but undisciplined Briton fell in the unequal struggle, and left nothing but the mounds that hide his ashes to tell the touching story of his patriotic resistance.

We have no means of knowing whether Vespasian, following in the footsteps of his great predecessor Cæsar, landed on the shores of Kent and fought his way through the south-eastern territory (which, be it remembered, was at that time one vast primæval forest known as that of Anderida,) to the coast, whence he would pass by a narrow channel to the Isle of Wight.

Rather may we suppose Cæsar's footsteps to have been followed by Claudius himself, and that Vespasian directed his course from Germany straight to the Island Vectis, with the intention of making it the base of his future operations.

As regards myself, I believe his object was, after obtaining possession of that island, to proceed to the subjugation of the Durotriges.

To trace the progress of his arms does not lie within the scope of the historian, for history has afforded no landmarks for his guidance; but it is the labour of the antiquary, who may appeal to certain evidences stamped upon the soil itself, which, upon careful study, will resolve themselves into a well-connected series of facts that gives a high degree of probability, if not of proof, to the reality of his conjectures.

Being established then at Vectis, Vespasian's next step seems to have been taken with the view of rendering himself master of the coast-line to the west, before he carried his arms into the interior; and, on taking a general survey of his position, the opposite shores of Purbeck were the point to which his attention would be naturally directed.

[a] Sueton. de T. Fl. Vesp. cap. iv.

[b] Eutrop. lib. vii. cap. xix. edit. Virheyk, 1762.

PYLS DUN
Lamberts Castle
CONIG'S CASTLE
DAMNONII
AXE R.
MARITIME BORDER
OF THE
DUROTRIGES
AGGER DUN
Chilcombe
Frome
MAIDEN CASTLE
Dunium?
ABBOTS BURY
FROME R.
FLORUS BURY
Florus Bury
BIN DUN
Isle of
VINDELIA
VESPASIAN'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN.
OUTLINE MAP OF THE SOUTH COAST.
BELGÆ
AVON R.
VECTIS
STUDLAND BAY
White Cliff
Purbeck
SWANAGE BAY
British thus PYLS DUN.
Roman " Frome.

This point is not so far distant but that, taking advantage of a moderate breeze at the ebb of the tide, his galleys would in a few hours find anchorage in Studland or Swanwich Bay, where, the sandy nature of the shore and the low elevation of the coast being favourable circumstances, he would be enabled speedily to disembark his forces, and place them at once on an equality with the enemy.

This invasion of the country of the Durotriges must have been undertaken under circumstances more favourable for its success than was the expedition of Cæsar, for it is manifest, from the plan of this campaign, that the character of the country in a strategic point of view was thoroughly understood; and we do not find the Roman general marching at once into the interior, as that would probably have brought disaster to his army, forasmuch as the coast-line was guarded by a series of imposing fortresses, which, if left undisturbed, would have operated on his rear. Hence it became of paramount necessity to dispose of them at the outset. Another reason that might weigh with him in taking the route through Purbeck—and a most important consideration too—would be, that his army would have its transports always at hand, parallel to his line of march, from which to draw supplies, or to fall back upon in the event of defeat.

The route of a Roman expeditionary army is generally indicated by a series of *castra*, which they were accustomed to throw up hastily at their several halting-places and termination of the day's march; but, as such *castra* were works of a temporary character, they often became obliterated by the lapse of time, so that it is only under somewhat rare and exceptional circumstances that they can now be distinctly recognised.

Some such work must have been constructed in the vicinity of the disembarkation in Swanwich Bay. Now, although I am unable to point with confidence to the discovery, nevertheless I can affirm that there are vestiges of earthworks in its neighbourhood that may, with great probability, be thought to bear this significance.[a]

[a] Not far from the Eastern shore of the Isle of Purbeck, where the disembarcation of the Roman army is considered to have been effected, is an old manor house known as White Cliff, adjoining which are some low rectangular embankments of very remote origin, as they are intruded upon by the house, gardens, and other inclosures; these embankments are sufficiently characteristic to favour the conclusion that they are as likely to be the vestiges of a Roman expeditionary camp, as remains of agricultural inclosures of an age anterior to that of the house, as has already been shown. The house is reputed to have been a hunting lodge of King John, the Isle of Purbeck being known by historical evidence to have abounded with deer down to the seventeenth century. This tradition is very probable as regards that King, whose restless character is sufficiently well known by his progresses, but its application to the building must be referred to one

Near at hand is the eastern terminus of the ridgeway, which, with few interruptions, follows nearly the entire coast-line of the Durotriges, and leads direct to their principal stronghold. Lofty, commanding, and comparatively free from impediments, it marks the direction of ancient intercourse; nor can we err in assuming that it formed the line of the Roman advance, for we shall find it intersected by a system of short cross-dykes,[a] thrown up by the Britons to impede the progress of the invaders, or by the Romans for the purpose of protecting their rear from a hostile attack.

On this ridgeway, and at the distance of one day's march from the landing-place, stands the first stronghold of the Britons; like all their other fortresses, in an almost impregnable position, raised on the verge of a perpendicular cliff, whose base, hundreds of feet below, is lashed by the waves, and overlooking in another direction a vast expanse of wild heath-land, where treacherous bogs and broken ground would render the approach of an attacking force difficult, if not altogether impossible.

The only practicable route, therefore, lay along the ridgeway, and would conduct the invaders to the eastern entrance (its only accessible approach), and there, no doubt, all the resources of its occupants would be brought into requisition for the purpose of repelling the attack.

But, in the absence of details, we can simply deal with results; consequently we can only infer that, how strenuous soever that opposition might have been, it

which doubtless preceded the present manor house. Another tradition, however, and more to our purpose, still lingers in, and is attached to, this place, to the effect that White Cliff was the scene of a terrible fight, in which nine kings were slain, all of whom were buried in a group of tumuli on Nine Barrow Down, a portion of the ridgeway between White Cliff and Corfe Castle. Without for a moment placing implicit faith in tradition, which we all know is more or less a perversion of acts and facts whose origin is obscured in the mist of time; still, in the present instance, this well merits our attention from its allusion to a great battle, which may be reasonably applied to that which must have taken place on the landing of the Romans. On such an event the whole "posse comitatus" of the native tribes under the conduct of their several chieftains (or kings, as says the tradition) would be assembled to oppose the invaders, when many of the native leaders fell; and this is rendered more probable from the significant (we would almost say fact) traditionary interment of the nine chieftains or kings under tumuli.

[a] Cross dykes are mentioned by Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, ii. 8. He says, "Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam naturâ opportuno atque idoneo (quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus, tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utrâque parte lateris dejectus habebat, et in frontem leniter fastigatus, paulatim ad planitiem redibat,) ab *utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit* circiter passuum CD; et ad extremas fossas castella constituit, ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, quum aciem instruxisset, hostes (quod tantum multitudine poterant) ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent."

failed to arrest the progress of the invaders, who not only dislodged the gallant defenders, but probably occupied their position for a brief period before they resumed their march.

This view is greatly confirmed in my own mind by the fact that, long before I entertained the remotest conception on this subject, I had the impression that a portion of these earthworks had been strengthened; for an antiquary of any experience could not fail to have observed an extensive restoration of the inner vallum by an addition to its height and breadth, while the irregularities of surface at the base show whence the soil was procured for that purpose.

This Celtic stronghold is known by the name of Flowers or Florus Bury. Opposite to it on the west, and separated by a very broad and deep ravine, stands the equally high and precipitous hill-city of Bindun, which we may fairly assume to have been the retreat of the discomfited Britons, for no other stronghold in this district possesses the same natural capabilities for defence and protection. It is even superior in some respects to the fortress whence they had been expelled, for its north side, where only it is accessible and that by a steep ascent, was defended by a wall of Cyclopean masonry, the other sides being secure from assault in beetling cliffs and frowning precipices.

But not even obstacles such as these could daunt the victorious Romans, and we may picture in our minds the continuance of the strife and siege until the Britons were finally driven out of their "city of refuge." And we may further conceive that the powerful resistance encountered at Bindun necessitated a brief occupation of the entrenched camp and the restoration of the ramparts of Florus Bury, in the name of which we can recognise at this day the memorial of some valiant Roman whose prowess, perhaps, was identified with its capture.

With the fall of Bindun the Roman army would, after the delay necessary for securing its conquests, be again on its march towards the stupendous stronghold of Dunium, the capital of the Durotriges, now known as Maiden Castle, by far the most important and colossal of all the military works of this ancient people, if not of any of the Celtic works in Britain.

We may be sure that the disastrous tidings of the loss of Florus Bury and the sacking of Bindun quickly sped to the remotest boundary of the ill-fated territory, rousing the energies of its native population to resist the further progress of the invader, to rally round their chiefs, and avert, if possible, that dire calamity which was gradually stealing upon them.

Although the probability of their fate may have been foreseen by them for many years, it would still seem that its approach had not been expected from

the quarter whence it was actually coming,—the evidence of which is derived from the incomplete and unfinished state of the defences of this important stronghold on its south side, or that which is towards the coast. The attack, therefore, when it came, seems to have been somewhat of the nature of a surprise, as it found the ramparts of their citadel in an unfinished state, which must have greatly favoured the tactics of Vespasian.

The ability displayed in the construction of a defensive work of such vast extent and strength as this of Dunium indicates the possession of great strategic skill, a numerous population, and the lapse of a lengthened period of time, and it was doubtlessly intended, like other great Celtic fortresses, to receive the surrounding inhabitants, with their flocks and herds, on the alarm of an invasion; but none had ever threatened it yet with a danger like the present.

I may remark that the existing features of the camp carry with them traces of original form, and subsequent adaptation and enlargement. This is seen in the remains of a worn-down vallum and choked fosse running across the area, apparently marking the extent of a moderately-sized oppidum, which was converted into a stupendous stronghold, with numerous and lofty ramparts of circumvallation.

To return to Vespasian. At the distance of twelve miles or thereabouts, a day's march from Bindun, we find situated on elevated ground immediately overlooking the River Frome, one mile east of Dorchester (the Roman Durnovaria), and near to a large tumulus known as "Conquer Barrow" (significant name!), the vestiges of a large rectangular entrenchment, which I hold to have been Vespasian's Camp, thrown up and occupied by him preparatory to his advance on the fortified heights of Dunium.

The besiegers and the besieged were separated by a wide and fertile plain, which was greatly in favour of the Britons, who doubtlessly were superior in numbers to their better disciplined enemy, and aided by those war-chariots of which Cæsar has given us such a graphic description.

But all in vain! For neither numerical advantage nor valour and patriotism could avail against the superior military skill and persevering energy of the Roman Legionaries, who, after it may be many a sanguinary conflict and many an episode of individual heroism on either side, the details of which are shrouded in oblivion, added this desirable position to the other trophies of their victorious general.

The obvious result of this great achievement would be to dishearten the Britons, and thereby materially facilitate the further progress of Vespasian's arms.

His first care would naturally be to secure the peaceful tenure of his new acquisition by demanding hostages from the subjugated tribes. After that he would again turn his face westward, and pursue his original plan of reducing the Celtic strongholds *seriatim*, so as to form a base line for his future operations in the interior. In accordance with this plan he would still follow the line of the ridgeway, which commands on the one hand an extensive sea view, and on the other a wide expanse of the territory then occupied by the Durotriges.

Pursuing the same track, we notice at the distance of some miles from Maiden Castle a series of intersecting dykes similar to those before spoken of on the ridgeway leading to Florus Bury, and evidently intended for the same purpose.

Soon after these are passed, and at the limit of a day's march from Dunium, we come upon a rectangular entrenched work at Chilcombe, a most valuable example of the Roman expeditionary camp. Its low vallum and shallow fosse are unbroken and unimpaired, a circumstance of the rarest occurrence as regards this description of ancient military work; and in this instance the immunity is entirely owing to the nature of the ground, which the plough has not as yet desecrated.

Here is still the virgin sward which has remained inviolate since the close of that day's march when the castrum was staked out, and its vallum raised around an area which held within its limit a father and son destined to become not only the rulers of the great Roman Empire, but the conquerors of Jerusalem itself.

The position of this castrum was judiciously selected on open elevated land, midway between the Celtic strongholds of Aggerdun on the north and Abbot's Bury on the south, but distant at least four miles from each.

From the fact of no other Roman camp being found in the vicinity of these fortresses, I am inclined to think that Chilcombe was thrown up with an especial reference to them; and further, although Aggerdun was of much greater extent than Abbot's Bury, whilst both possessed great natural and artificial strength, that still the victorious Romans experienced but little if any serious opposition from either of these sources.

The fall of Dunium, together with earlier defeats, had caused the greatest consternation among a people individually brave but unskilful in war, as compared with the well-disciplined troops of imperial Rome, and were in consequence induced to lay down their arms, and purchase peace by the cession of these places of defence.

We are now approaching the close of our subject; still there were yet two more considerable strongholds to be reduced before Vespasian could be said to have completed the work delegated to him, the subjugation of the Durotriges.

Those two were the heights known as Conig's Castle[a] and Pylsdun; the latter a lofty hill encircled with a triple line of ramparts, the former an isolated hill strongly entrenched with a single vallum and fosse.

Between them, and, be it remarked, one day's march from Chilcombe, we find on a plateau of land another rectangular Roman castrum known as Lambert's Castle, which I take to be the last of Vespasian's camps in the dominion of the Durotriges.

These last works are situated near the boundary of the Damnonii, whose territory on account of its natural conformation would render the further progress of Vespasian matter of greater difficulty than any he had hitherto contended with.

This circumstance, taken in connection with the proximity of the two fastnesses of Conig's Castle and Pylsdun, each occupying commanding positions, may possibly account for the greater strength of the entrenchments of the Roman castrum, for it would be a necessary part of his stategy to make himself fully master of this position before he advanced into the territory of the Damnonii.

The strength of Lambert's Castle may be accepted as a measure of the difficulties he encountered and the resistance he experienced in this quarter; but we have no reason to doubt that the same triumphant success attended him as in the former stages of his progress.

Having thus tracked Vespasian in his course through the kingdom of the Durotriges, and seen the whole of its seaboard reduced, we will compare a summary of the events we have conjecturally described with the statement of Suetonius.

Thus of the "*viginti oppida*" related by him as Vespasian's trophies: we have first Florus Bury closely followed by Bindon; next the grand hill fortress of Dunium; then Abbot's Bury and Aggerdun; and, lastly, Conig's Castle and Pylsdun; so that we can claim seven, at least, of the twenty hill-cities of Suetonius as appertaining to the kingdom of the Durotriges.

Of the thirty battles ("tricies cum hoste conflixit") we cannot speak so confidently; nevertheless, by taking the number of the "*oppida*" as a guide, we may safely assume they could hardly have been fewer than one-third of the number stated by the historian.

Vespasian without doubt provided for the security of his conquests by entering into compact with the Britons, and requiring from them the surrender of their

[a] Conig's Castle, a British camp, and occupied by Egbert, A.D. 833, then in the West, to resist a landing of the Danes at Charmouth; hence the name it bears.

vanquished chieftains as hostages for the due observance of treaties; and we may reasonably conceive that many of the defeated warriors would voluntarily take service under the standard of so invincible a leader, and thus help him to achieve the further conquest of their own countrymen.

In conclusion, I may observe that it may be objected to my views of the sequence of Vespasian's victories, as noticed in the beginning of this essay, that the language of Suetonius implies the conquest of Vectis to have followed, not preceded, that of the *duas validissimas gentes*, the Durotriges and Damnonii. I reply, that the intention of the historian was to give an epitome of results, rather than an accurate sequence of events; and that these important records, brief as they are, do not debar us from exercising an independent judgment.

The probabilities in favour of the views herein expressed are corroborated by the fact that if we take a survey of the south coast, from Sussex to Devon inclusively, we shall nowhere find a chain of Roman castra similar to those referred to in this paper as existing in Dorset. These latter are linked together, without a break, and that equidistantly, with the precise interval which classical writers on Roman military affairs mention as the regular day's march of a Roman army.

A subject like the present must necessarily involve a considerable amount of conjecture, owing to the deficiency of historical light; and my endeavour has been, in the absence of direct proof, to assume no more than may be reasonably inferred from presumptive evidence,—a privilege universally accorded, and not in this instance, I hope, abused. If, indeed, no theory were to be accepted unless it were capable of a rigid demonstration, history would be shorn of much of its interest and value, and the archæologist might lay down his pen in despair.

Mem.—The further progress of Vespasian must be sought in the north-eastern corner of the Damnonii, and thence in the adjoining portions of the Belgæ. It is a matter of regret to me that my health prevents my undertaking such an agreeable task.—C. W.

In the accompanying outline-map (Pl. XVII.), reduced from my map of "Dorsetshire, its Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and Danish Vestiges," a fleet and consecutive series of Roman galleys are to be seen laid down on the seacoast; these all bear reference to the foregoing essay. Thus the fleet is intended to point out the place of Vespasian's landing in Swanwich and Studland bays, near White Cliff, and opposite to the Isle of Wight.

The galleys in the offing, and in numerical sequence, indicate respective day's marches, the *castra* occupied, and the Celtic camps taken by him.

The single galley points to Florus Bury and Bindun, the first positions obtained.

Two galleys, the *castrum* raised by him preparatory to his attack on Dunium or Maiden Castle.

Three galleys, the expeditionary *castrum* at Chilcombe and the Celtic camps of Agger Dun and Abbot's Bury; and, lastly,

The four galleys refer to his position (*castrum*) on Lambert's Castle, with the Celtic fortresses of Conig's Castle and Pylsdun, one on either hand.

XX.—*On some Discoveries of Stone Implements in Lough Neagh, Ireland.* By JOHN EVANS, *Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.*

Read January 17th, 1867.

IT may be agreeable to this society to receive some account of one of the most extensive, if not the most interesting, discoveries of stone implements which has of late years taken place within the United Kingdom. Indeed, so far as the number of objects found is concerned, the discoveries on the shores of Lough Neagh may almost be ranked with those of the prolific caves of the Dordogne, or those of the Pfahlbauten of the Swiss Lakes.

My attention was first drawn to the probability of discoveries of this character being made on the shores of Lough Neagh, in the following manner. In May, 1859, I happened to be at Antrim, where I had stopped mainly for the purpose of visiting the very perfect round tower which stands a short distance from the town: it is in private grounds, the road through which had been recently graveled, and as I walked along it my eye was caught by an oval stone implement, about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, so rudely chipped out as at first sight to make me half inclined to think that it belonged to the valley gravel or "palæolithic" period of Sir John Lubbock. On inquiry I found that the gravel amid which it lay had been procured from the shores of Lough Neagh, on which accordingly I searched for some time, but in vain, as on that occasion I did not succeed in finding any other worked flints.

Still I was satisfied that the shores of the lake ought to be productive of such antiquities, and accordingly when again in Ireland, in June 1861, I stayed for a short time at Lurgan on the south side of the lake, and examined the shore for some miles, and this time with much greater success. Besides about a dozen well-shaped flint flakes, I found a remarkably fine and well-chipped rhomboidal arrow or javelin head of grey slightly ochreous flint, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch broad at the widest part, which is about three-quarters of an inch from one end, so that the lozenge tapers much more at one end than at the other. Unlike many specimens of the same shape, it shows no signs of grinding or polishing on either face. I

found the greater number of these flint implements at a spot about two miles to the east of Lurgan, where the shore of the lake is of a peaty character, with a good deal of bog timber in it. I could not, however, determine whether there had ever been any crannoge or pile-building upon the spot.

I again visited the shores of Lough Neagh in company with the present Sir John Lubbock in September, 1861, this time at the point nearest to Belfast, but we found the waters so high that any search upon the shores was useless.

It was not until July, 1864, that I had again an opportunity of visiting Lough Neagh, and this time I determined to examine it on the northern side. I found that at Toome Bridge, where the river Bann flows out of the lake, there was a little inn, much frequented by fishermen, and it occured to me that a part of the lake noted at the present time for its abundance of fish was likely to have been an equally favourite fishing station in earlier days, and that probably I should find upon its shores at that point some traces of early occupation. I was not aware at the time that in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy are sixteen flint flakes [a] "found six feet under the present bed of the river Bann, lying with several others in one mass on the old or former gravel-bed of the river, not far from Toome Castle," and that others had been collected by Mr. Charles S. Ottley, District Engineer to the drainage of Lough Neagh and the River Bann. Nor was I aware at the time, that in [b] May, 1862, Mr. R. S. Charnock, F.S.A. had exhibited and presented to this Society a celt of greenstone, found with many others, a large quantity of arrow-heads, and a canoe, in Lough Neagh, near Toome, some seven or eight years previously.

I was accompanied by Mr. Jennings of Cork, and fortunately found the water of the lake, owing to the summer drought, a little lower than usual, so that the search upon its shores could be commenced under favourable auspices. The lake at this part of its northern edge is very shallow, with the shores but slightly shelving, so that when the water is low a considerable tract of land is left dry, and the margin of the lake itself is so shallow, that even at the distance of 100 or 200 yards from the shore there is often not more than from 1 foot to 18 inches of water, so that to a person wading (as I did for many hours) the bottom is clearly visible.

The bottom consists of a hard peat with more or less sand and fine silt upon it, and as the peat is itself free from pebbles, all the stones upon it would appear to have been brought there either by the action of the lake itself (which might

[a] Wilde's Descriptive Catalogue Mus. R. I. A. p. 10.

[b] Proc. Soc. Antiq. 2 Ser. ii. 119.

operate either by currents during storms, or by floating ice, or in other ways), or else by human agency. There appears to be no flint in the immediate neighbourhood, though it occurs at but a little distance off. My search on this occasion on the shores of the lake, and in the lake itself, was rewarded by the discovery of three stone hatchets of lapis Lydius and greenstone, whilst an Irishman with me found a fourth. Besides these, I found a very narrow leaf-shaped arrow-head of flint $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide at the broadest part, and I also brought away no less than 210 flint flakes, cores, &c. mostly of my own finding, as the result of a stay at the spot of less than twenty-four hours duration. Besides these, I found numerous specimens too fragmentary to be worth retaining. On some parts of the shore there were small patches of gravel, of which the greater number of the constituent pebbles were fragments of worked flint.

Of the character of the various stone implements found at Toome I will shortly speak; but before doing so I must mention that I returned to the spot in June, 1865, and during the few hours I spent there I found, with the help of three boys, no less than nineteen polished stone hatchets, some of them, it is true, in very imperfect condition, but others in a perfect state. I also found a very large number of worked flints. Owing to the water being lower than on previous occasions, I was able to extend my investigations further into the lake; but though I discovered so many traces of the occupation of man, I found no indisputable signs of pile-buildings. All the stone hatchets that I discovered were on the western side of the river Bann, and within half a mile of the point where it quits the lake. They have, however, as well as the worked flints, since that time, been found on the eastern side of the river; for, the attention of local collectors having been directed to the spot, the inhabitants have found it worth while to collect the antiquities with which the shores of the lake abound; and I believe that I am within the truth in saying that three or four hundred stone hatchets have now been discovered in the neighbourhood of Toome Bridge, and that the worked flints from that locality are to be numbered by thousands.[a] Some piles were also discovered in one part of the lake, but those which I had sent me had evidently been pointed with metal tools.

I will now proceed to a consideration of the implements discovered, so far as I have had an opportunity of examining them.

[a] Mr. Robert Day, jun. of Cork, who has more than once visited the spot, informs me that he has himself had upwards of 120 stone implements from Toome, and more than 2,000 flint-flakes, &c. I have myself had above 100 stone hatchets, and upwards of 1,000 flakes, &c.

The stone hatchets, or celts, as they are commonly called, have been made principally of the following materials: clay-slate, green-stone, lapis Lydius, serpentine, basalt, hornblende, schist, talcose slate, and various other metamorphic rocks. A few occur in flint.

In form they vary considerably, as well as in size and in degree of finish. My largest specimen is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide in the broadest part; the smallest 2 inches long and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch broad. All the forms shown on page 41 of Sir W. Wilde's Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, might be matched; but beside these there are a few special forms on which a few words may be said.

First, there are a few which, instead of having the cutting edge only at one end, and that the broad end, are sharpened at both ends, and have the sides nearly parallel. One of these, in my own collection, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 2 inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick in the middle, and has a cutting edge about $1\frac{3}{8}$ broad at one end and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the other; it is formed of lapis Lydius, and is considerably more convex on one face than the other; the cutting edges are curved and both in one plane.

Another form is flat and straight on one side, and rounded and curved on the other. This however may be, in part, owing to the peculiarity of the stones from which the celts were made, advantage having been taken of a smooth side, left by the jointing of the rock. The irregular shape of some specimens is also probably due rather to the original form of the stones from which they were made, than to any particular design. I have one curious specimen however, of which the peculiar form seems intentional. It is not unlike Fig. 44 in Wilde's Catalogue, p. 42, but, instead of expanding on each side where the edge is formed, it does so only on one side, the other being slightly curved inwards instead of outwards. The butt-end is broken, but the implement is still 6 inches long; at the middle it is 2 inches wide and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, oval in section; at the edge it is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide.

Some implements formed of a micaceous schistose rock have one or both sides formed by the natural joints, and the faces by the natural cleavage, the edges alone being ground. In one of them the edge is very oblique; and from the character of the material they would appear to have been instruments intended for use in the hand, rather than mounted as hatchets.

A hatchet, of the usual sub-triangular form (Pl. XVIII. No. 10), found by myself, presents a peculiarity in the method of grinding. It seems to have been originally of the usual section, equally convex on both sides, but subsequently to have been ground flatter, the convexity lengthwise being retained. Towards the

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STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM LOUGH NEAGH.

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pointed end, the face of the stone has not only been ground flat, but even slightly hollowed. Others are merely flattened across. Some of the smallest specimens present also the peculiarity of having one of their faces ground flat crosswise and convex lengthwise. Hatchets with an oblique edge are not rare among them, and there are some which are ground hollow or gouge-like at the edge. The hatchets made of flint are rarer than those of other materials. I found one, however, 3½ inches in length, and 1¼ inch in extreme breadth. It is symmetrically chipped out: thin, sharp at the sides, but ground only at the edge. There is a natural defect in the flint, which has occasioned half the edge to break away; and the wonder is, that so much pains should have been bestowed on such defective materials. Another good specimen in my collection is 6 inches long, and about 2 inches by 1 inch in extreme breadth and thickness. It is sharp at the sides, nearly pointed at the butt-end, and slightly curved at the cutting-end, where alone it shows traces of grinding, and those very faint.

The butt-end of a similar hatchet, which has been broken, has been re-touched at the broken part, so as to form a sort of drill or borer. (Pl. XVIII. No. 8.)

Besides these carefully-chipped hatchets, there are some roughly-worked implements which appear to have been destined for hatchets or picks. I have two such: one, 6 inches long, 2 inches wide, and 1¼ inch thick, nearly flat on one face, rounded at the ends and very roughly made; the other (Pl. XVIII. No. 12) presenting an elongated oval outline, 4½ inches long, 1½ inch wide, and 1⅛ inch thick, much more convex on one face than the other, and nearly symmetrical in form.

There are some other forms which approximate to these, and which do not appear to have been intended for hatchets, neither can they well be regarded as having served as lance-heads. Such is the implement which I found in the gravel at Antrim, and another from Toome of more elongated form which appears to have been much battered at the angles on the faces and sides, but not at the ends. This implement is 3¾ inches long, nearly 1½ inch wide in the middle, and barely 1 inch thick; it is more convex on one face than the other, and terminates in a rounded point at both ends.

Another form may have served as an adze or tomahawk. It is in outline a long oval, 3¼ inches long and 1⅜ inch wide, with the natural crust of the flint at one end, and brought, by chipping, to a rounded cutting edge at the other. On one face it is convex all over, but on the other the thickness of the stone is reduced from about the middle of the blade towards the butt-end, so as to present an ogee contour when viewed edgeways. There is a class of flint hatchets found in England which are fashioned on much the same principle. They are rarely, if

ever, ground at the edge, but the edge is skilfully produced by the intersection of two lines of fracture. The curving inwards of one part of the blade is probably connected with the method of attachment to the handle.

Another form of implement would appear to have been a sort of pick, unless possibly it may be regarded as a lance-head. It is pointed at one end and rounded or obtuse at the other, almost triangular in section towards the point, slightly curved lengthwise, and more carefully worked on the rounded than on the hollow face. The specimen I have before me is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide in the broadest part. Another specimen blunter at the butt-end, and more rounded at the point, with less symmetrical outline, and altogether clumsier in make, is engraved in Plate XVIII. No. 11; it is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide at the butt.

A very rude implement of much the same general form, but larger and of much coarser work, is roughly triangular in its section throughout, about 6 inches long, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad in the middle. I can hardly pretend to suggest the purpose for which it was intended. I have, however, a much more neatly finished implement of the same general character, and found in the north of Ireland, which might serve as an effective spear-head, or as a pick for grubbing in the earth. I have implements of nearly similar form, but rather smaller, from Denmark, one of which I found myself.

Another series of implements belong to a class which I believe has not before been observed. They are usually from three to four inches long, extremely clumsy at the butt-end, and worked more or less roughly to a pyramidal or triangular point at the other. They appear to be adapted for holding in the hand, and the butt-end would seem to have been left heavy, in order to give an impetus to the blow given with the point; but it is hard to say for what purpose they were intended. That they had some special purpose is evident from so many of them being found, all presenting the same general characteristics. A tool of this class is shown in Pl. XVIII. No. 9.

I have one more finished tool belonging to the same class, but formed of hard black chert, which also was found at Toome, and presented to me by Mr. Robert Day, jun. of Cork. It is of triangular outline, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad at the base. At the middle it is an inch in thickness, but the butt-end has been reduced in thickness by the chert having been roughly chipped away. Towards the point one face is flat, the other considerably curved; the section is sub-triangular, becoming round near the point, and the greater part of the surface has been carefully ground after having been chipped into form. The implement

appears adapted for boring holes in leather or other soft substances, but such a purpose is of course purely conjectural. It is shown in Pl. XVIII. No. 7.

Of the so-called sling-stones a few have been found. I have one nearly circular about 2½ inches in diameter, ¾ inch thick in the middle, and chipped to an edge nearly the whole way round. Others are of ruder make and thicker. I have also found a few quartz pebbles, which may not improbably have been used as hammer-stones.

By far the greater number of the flint objects found consist of flakes, and weapons and tools made from them. That many of these flakes were struck off upon the spot, is proved by the presence of numerous cores or nuclei. Of these I have several good examples, varying in length from 1½ inch to 3 inches. Some of the flakes however run as much as 4½ and 5 inches long. They occur of all sizes, long and short, narrow and broad, thick and thin, but do not require any particular description. Some of them have the edges chipped away in places, either intentionally or by wear in scraping some hard substance, such as bone or stone; a few of them, like Pl. XVIII. No. 5, have been chipped away on either side so as to form a long narrow point, such as could be used for boring or drilling. Other flakes again, more especially the very thick ones, have been chipped away at the two sides, leaving the flat face uninjured, until the flint has assumed a boat-shaped form, like Pl. XVIII. No. 6. The purpose of these scaphöid implements is at present unexplained.

Some few of the flakes have been chipped into a rounded outline at the ends or sides so as to form "scrapers," much like those in use among the Esquimaux for dressing skins at the present day, and like those found in such abundance in the cave deposits of the Reindeer period in the South of France.[a]

But by far the most common purpose to which the flakes have been applied is that of the formation of javelin or lance heads, of which there are at least three varieties.

In the first of these the flake has been chipped along both sides, and on either one or both faces throughout its entire length, so as to make it more pointed, and at the same time thicker in proportion to its width. The lance-heads of this class are usually from 3 to 4½ inches long and about 1 inch broad. One of them is figured in Pl. XVIII. No. 3.

The second class are those which have a distinct tang or shaft. These are for the most part formed of broad flakes, the butt-end of which has been chipped away on either side, until it is reduced to about one-half of its previous width. The

[a] See Lartet and Christy's Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ, p. 14.

remainder of the flake is usually left in its original condition, though occasionally chipped at the point to render the weapon more symmetrical or effective. They are usually from 3½ to 4½ inches long, and about half as wide in their broadest part. The form is well known in Ireland, and a specimen is engraved in Wilde's Catalogue, p. 12, fig. 3. I have also given one in Pl. XVIII. No. 1.

The third variety is also formed from broad flakes, but instead of the butt-end being chipped into a decided shaft or tang, it has had its two sides chipped away at an angle to the base, so as to give the butt the form of three sides of a hexagon. See Pl. XVIII. No. 2. Where the form of the flake has been suitable, only one side has sometimes been chipped, and the chipping in different specimens has been by blows administered, in some cases only on the flat face of the flake, in others on the convex face, and in others again on both faces. In most cases, such flakes have been selected for these lance-heads as required no chipping at the point, but occasionally the points have been retouched, as in Pl. xviii. No. 4. The object in chipping away the sharp sides of the flake at the base would appear to be to prevent its cutting the cord by which it was attached to the shaft. Both flakes and lance-heads occur occasionally in lapis Lydius or black chert as well as in flint, and some few in metamorphic rocks. I have a specimen in lapis Lydius, the side edges of which have been blunted by grinding, and which has been ground to a sharp semi-circular edge at the point. It is engraved in Pl. XVIII. No. 13.

Such is a general description of the principal forms of stone implements which have been found on the shores of Lough Neagh, in the neighbourhood of Toome. I may add, that I last summer discovered a few flakes of similar character on the shores of Lough Kinale, at the junction of the counties of Longford, Westmeath, and Cavan; and that I have little doubt that a search, properly conducted, would prove nearly or quite as remunerative, in some others of the Irish lakes.

As to the causes why so large a number of stone implements should be found at this spot, I think that one reason, and that probably the most important, was the abundant means of subsistence that was to be procured in the lake and in the river flowing out of it, in the shape of fish. This, no doubt, would tend to make the district about Toome a favourite resort at all periods of Irish history; and if, as seems not improbable, one method of catching the fish was by spearing, we may have a clue to the large number of lance or javelin-heads that have been discovered. Even the flakes might have been utilised in a similar manner, and it will be remembered that the specimens in the Royal Irish Academy were found in the river Bann, and not in the lake. I believe that several of the specimens

lately found have also occurred along the course of the river. This river, to use the words of Camden, as translated by Philemon Holland, [a] "carrying a proud streame, entreth into the sea, breeding salmons in abundance, above every other river in all Europe;" and to the present day it sustains its repute. Lough Neagh itself, or as Camden calls it Lough Eaugh (or Lough Sidney, as the soldiers of that time termed it in honour of Henry Sidney), is also said to be "a goodly and beautiful lake, passing fishful."

We have then here, it seems, a cause why Toome, where the river Bann flows out of Lough Neagh, should at all times have been a favourite resort for man; and the question remains for consideration as to the date at which the men lived who made and lost these stone implements. I am inclined to think that the period over which their use extended must have been a lengthened one, or the implements could not have accumulated in such large numbers; but at how remote a date the occupation of that part of Ireland by a people making use of these rude stone implements commenced, and to how late a date they still continued to be in use, and whether all the stone hatchets and the flint flakes belong to one and the same period, are questions not easily solved. The finding of the flint flakes 6 feet under the present bed of the river Bann affords no certain clue even as to the antiquity of those particular specimens; the levels of different parts of a river bed being so readily and frequently changed by the action of the stream when flooded. At the same time, the fact of the implements being found lying upon the surface of the peat is no evidence of their being of modern date, as a deposit seems to be forming on the peat, and not improbably its upper surface is to some little extent being dissolved away. There appear, therefore, no valid grounds for disagreeing with those who, arguing from the analogy of the implements with those discovered in other countries, would assign to them a high degree of antiquity; but I think that on the other hand we must take into account the circumstances of the country and of the district in which they were found, before we can pronounce with absolute certainty that none of them are to be assigned to a much more modern period than we are accustomed to associate with the use of stone implements within the United Kingdom.

In the first place it is to be borne in mind that we have no conclusive evidence that those who made use of these weapons and tools were unacquainted with the use of metal. We have, however, in England ample evidence from barrows, of the continuance in use of stone-hatchets, arrow-heads, &c. after bronze had been introduced for daggers and other cutting instruments; and while metals

[a] Ireland, p. 114, ed. 1637.

were scarce and costly the use of stone might linger on in poor districts long after it had been superseded in the richer and more prosperous parts of the country. And, again, supposing metal and stone to have been in use together, by a given people, at a given time, we can readily understand the use of the one for objects easily lost and easily made, while the other was carefully treasured, so that the soil which was occupied by this people should be replete with remains of their stone tools and weapons, while containing hardly a trace of those in metal.

Let us now look at what was the condition of this part of Ireland less than three centuries ago. We find from Camden that the Bann, on leaving the lake at Toome Castle, was beset and shadowed along the sides with woods, and passed by Glen Colkein, where by reason of thick woods and impassable bogs there was the safest place of refuge for the Scotch islanders and rebels; which the English felt who pursued Surley Boy when he lurked there;—further, that these Scottish islanders, to save charges at home, flocked every year in summer-time out of those hungry and barren islands where there was nothing but beggary, to get their living in this part of Ireland. We gather, in fact, that this Glen Colkein, or the valley of the Bann, was one of the strongholds of the wild Irish, and the still more degraded Scottish islanders.

Let us now cast a glance at the manners and customs of the wild or "meere" Irish, as portrayed by Fynes Moryson,[a] from personal experience in Ireland, about the year 1600.

Even at Cork he saw young maids stark naked, grinding corn with certain stones to make cakes thereof. But this was in a civilised part of the island. The "meere" Irish did not often eat any bread at all, though they grew a few oats, which they did not thrash, but burned from the straw, and so made cakes thereof. As to flesh, this they seethed with the entrails of beasts, unwashed, lapped in a raw cow-hide, and so set over the fire. Horses dying of themselves afforded delicate morsels. Many ate no flesh but that which died of disease or otherwise of itself, neither could it scape them for stinking. They willingly ate the herb shamrock, which, as they ran and were chased to and fro, they snatched like beasts out of the ditches. Like the Assinaboins[b] of North America, and other savage stone-boiling tribes, they warmed the milk for drinking with a stone first cast into the fire. They had no tables, but set their meat on a bundle of grass, and used the same grass for napkins to wipe their hands. They slept under the

[a] Itinerary, part iii. p. 156, *et seqq.*

[b] Tylor's Early History of Mankind, 262.

canopy of heaven, or in a poor house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees and covered with turf, for such were the dwellings of the very lords among them. As to dress, in many parts the men, as well as women, went naked in very winter time, except a rag of linen about the loins and a loose mantle on their bodies; so as, says Moryson, it would turn a man's stomach to see an old woman in the morning, before breakfast. At night they lay naked in a circle about the fire with their feet towards it, folding their heads and upper parts in their woollen mantles, first steeped in water, to keep them warm. Spoons they had no need for, but swords they seem to have had, which they girt to them by a withe instead of a girdle.

I omit some other details; but the picture given above, making every allowance for over-colouring from prejudice, points to a stage of civilization among the inhabitants of many parts of Ireland, including that now under consideration, three centuries ago, which, to say the least of it, is by no means inconsistent with an extensive use of the readiest materials which came to hand, such as bone, wood, and stone for most of such simple implements and weapons for the chase as might be required, rather than that of metal, which was not readily accessible, or only to be procured by commerce or barter.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the presence of such numbers of polished stone hatchets among the other stone implements and weapons affords a very strong argument against these objects belonging to a comparatively modern period, however barbarous may have been the manners and customs of the time in certain districts; for we can hardly suppose that those who had once become acquainted with the advantages afforded by steel axes would have bestowed the amount of pains necessary for the fabrication of such very inefficient substitutes as these of stone, instead of by some means, fair or foul, procuring the more serviceable instruments, even had they made use of the readily manufactured flint lance-heads for pointing their weapons of the chase. There have, moreover, been found on the shores of Lough Neagh, at Toome, several iron or steel axe-heads, which, judging from their form, are of considerable antiquity, and which, from the reason above adduced, must in all probability belong to a period far more recent than do the stone hatchets found associated with them on the shore of the lake. If, therefore, we are compelled to draw a broad line of distinction between the age of the iron and the stone hatchets, it seems most reasonable to extend it also to the other objects in stone, and to refer them also to an age long prior to that of iron.

It will be perceived that I by no means desire that the observations I have

made as to the method of life and degree of civilisation of the "meere" Irish of the days of Elizabeth should be understood as implying a belief that the stone implements I have been describing do not date back to a period far more remote than three centuries ago. I have simply given them partly as a historical sketch suggested by the locality of the discovery, partly to show the difficulties that sometimes surround such questions of date, and to exhibit the arguments which may be adduced in opposition to the views most generally held by archæologists, and partly to suggest that extreme caution must be exercised before pronouncing that an implement found within the United Kingdom is of necessity of extreme antiquity, simply because it happens to be of stone, and without regard to the circumstances and locality of its discovery. Until, however, we have a greater number of facts at our command in connection with the discovery of stone implements, arms, and utensils in Ireland, I think it the safest plan, while placing on record the character of these discoveries in Lough Neagh, to abstain from expressing any too decided opinion as to the degree of antiquity which is to be attributed to the implements which I have described.

XXI.—*An Account of Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Stowting, in Kent, during the Autumn of* 1866. *By* John Brent, Esq., *F.S.A., Local Secretary for Kent.*

Read January 10th, 1867.

The "Old English," or Anglo-Saxon, Cemetery at Stowting had not, I believe, been systematically explored until the close of the year 1866; yet its existence was rendered probable by the discovery of antiquities about twenty-two years since, when the road abutting on the ground was lowered by the parish authorities.

A full account was given in a Paper communicated to the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. by Mr. C. Roach Smith, of the relics then accidentally exhumed, and the Rev. Frederick Wrench, Rector of Stowting, gave a further account of the same, in a little work he published in 1845. About thirty skeletons were said to have been found, and amongst remains interesting to the antiquary were several swords of the usual type, beads of glass, clay, and amber, umbones, iron spear-heads, bronze buckles, knives, pottery, and three or four fibulæ. Several of these objects are in the cabinet of Mr. Wrench; others having passed into unknown hands have been dispersed, and probably for the most part are now lost. Amongst them there was, I understand, a fine silver brooch, set with coloured stones or glass. Three or four circular fibulæ are contained in Mr. Wrench's collection, of the usual patterns: one is a large and elegant specimen. Also, a silver wire ring or ear-ring, bronze buckles and tags, Roman coins, and a small piece of money plated with gold. This little coin is probably Merovingian, and, if so, is another proof of the Frankish element introduced into these and similar interments; gold coins of Clothaire having been found at Sarr, and one, if not two, complete specimens of the iron weapon or spear, the Angon of Agathias, as described by Mr. Akerman, in the Archæologia, vol. xxxvi.

In the researches which I have made, and which the Society of Antiquaries have honoured me by adopting, I have found during the past autumn twenty-five graves, which, as one contained two, another three, and another six or seven skeletons, would give thirty-four interments.

The soil was not unfavourable to the proceedings. The graves had been cut into a chalk stratum. The cemetery was in a field which had been used for

agricultural purposes from time immemorial, and of which the upper soil varied in depth from nine inches to two feet. The graves were rudely formed and in an uneven manner, very different from the clean-cut graves I had found at Sarr. Their irregularity may however be traced in some degree to the nature of the chalk, which was stratified, or ran in blocks, often misleading me as to the shape and extent of the graves.

The direction of the interments varied. In one instance they crossed. The prevailing direction was east to west, or north-west to south-east. Some, however, lay north and south, or nearly so. These were (with exceptions) the most interesting to the antiquary. The orientation of skeletons in the so-called Pagan-Saxon graves is remarkable. The Rev. Bryan Faussett found it almost general in the cemeteries of Gilton, Chartham, Kingston, Bishopstone, Sibertswold, and Barfreston. At Crundale the graves where cremation had not been practised pointed with the feet to the west. At Sarr, the graves lay east and west, or nearly so; a few only were found varying a point or two. Douglas, in the "Nenia," describes some Anglo-Saxon graves with the head to the north. Mr. Wright, I think, mentions graves at Bishopsbourne similarly placed.

All labour of trenching the ground at Stowting was saved by the use of an iron spear. This instrument, except in a few instances where the chalk ran uneven, or holes had been made into it at some period, rarely misled.

The excavations commenced on the eighth of last October, 1866:—

Grave 1. It yielded a skeleton lying north and south. A very irregular interment about two feet deep. It produced a knife, similar in type to those found in the Jutish graves of East Kent; also a fragment of glass, the fractures apparently being fresh. No other remains were found, although particular search was made. The fragment of glass is something like the neck of a scent-bottle, and has three spiral cords of yellow beading running round it.

No. 2. North-west by south-east. From this grave we recovered a massive bronze buckle near the waist of the skeleton; beside it was an ox tooth. I mention this because I found similar objects in several of the graves at Stowting. They were almost always single, and thus seemed to me to be deposited in conformity with some rite or usage to us unknown.

No. 3. North-west by south-east. Nearly three-and-a-half feet deep. No remains but the skeleton; the teeth much ground down.

No. 4. A rudely-executed interment, lying nearly east and west, and about four feet deep. By the right knee lay the iron ferule of a spear, a bronze buckle, and a small bronze key of the pattern usually considered Roman. Close

Herbert L. Smith delt et fecit.

ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS FROM STOWTING.

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by was a small tubular piece of bronze, which might have formed the binding to the edges of a strap or belt. A bronze tag, in length two-and-a-half inches, lay close beside it. It had been in contact with some iron object, and a piece of wood, perhaps portions of a box lined with thin bronze platings. A short knife, of peculiar form, in a wooden sheath, lay beside the buckle. Close to the skull, by the right ear, was an iron-socketed spear-head, about twelve inches long; and just beyond it, touched by the spear, a small black earthen vessel filled to the brim with clear water. Slabs of chalk had been placed around it on three sides, and a piece of chalk above it, so that it was protected from the soil falling into it. It almost touched the skull. Probably, the water had percolated through the chalk, and drop by drop flowed over as it fell in; for the sides of the vessel were moist and bright.

No. 5. North-west by south-east.—It contained three interments. At the feet of an adult skeleton, to the left, lay the bones of a child. Near the knees was a wire ring or armlet, with a sort of slip-knot, perhaps the usual suspension ring for keys. At the left side of the larger skeleton was a fine pair of bronze tweezers, two-and-a-half inches in length; also a knife. By the shoulder of the third skeleton, another knife, an amber bead, and a minute fragment of some bronze ornament; also, a bronze buckle without the pin, and the tooth of an ox.

No. 6. No relics for the antiquary.

No. 7. Nothing.

No. 8. A knife-blade only. North-west by south-east.

No. 9. A narrow grave, nine feet long, four feet deep, irregularly made, and slightly curved, lying north and south. At the waist were five bronze tags. A small saucer-shaped bronze fibula with a rude design of a face in the centre. (Plate XIX. fig. 4.) This type of fibula is rather rare for Kent. Similar ornaments were found by Mr. Akerman at Harnham Hill (Archæologia, vol. xxxv.), and belong also to the northern tribes who settled in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire. The rude face has a brotherhood amongst certain Scandinavian designs. By the left side of the skeleton lay a cruciform fibula (fig. 1); also, a small circular fibula set with garnets. Another fibula, rather larger, with garnets or sliced glass, unfortunately broken. A bronze girdle ornament (fig. 2), bronze rings, belonging most likely to iron keys, which I could rarely ever get out whole, here or at Sarr. Two iron handles, which had been attached probably to a box or coffer; a knife; a long bronze bodkin or stiletto; a fragment of a bodkin or small instrument's case, about twenty-four beads, one a large amber discoid bead. Around the skull was found gold wire

braid, weight 1 dwt. 14 gr. A few small amber beads lay near it, but whether they were woven into the hair with the braid, or merely scattered at the interment, I must not venture to decide. Besides the above were found an ornamented stud-head and two small Roman coins; one, a Constantine, being perforated for suspension. Ten inches at least beyond the skull, protected by slabs of chalk carefully placed around and above it, was a wooden stoup, bound with ornamental bronze hoops or bands. We may compare it with the Fairford and other stoups found in this country and on the continent.

The wood as shown by the grain is, as I am informed, pine. Its peculiarity is its fine state of preservation. The height of this little vessel is four and three-quarter inches, diameter four and a half inches. The handle is a thin arc of brass, fastened by a pin or stud at each end of the metal brim.

It has not the peculiar ornament noted beneath the handles of the Fairford bucket. It would scarcely hold, I think, a pint of mead, or any liquor Scandinavia or her gods delighted in; yet it is a neat little object, and has some ornament on the bright brass bands that surround it.

No. 10. East and west.—A bronze buckle, studs, and a small knife. The femur of the skeleton in this grave measured twenty-one inches less one-eighth.

No. 11. Two interments, the bones in the upper one lying east and west; under it a skeleton lying north and south on its right side, and much contracted or doubled up. A single clay bead and a small piece of bronze plating were the only relics of the upper skeleton. At the feet of the lower was a black earthen vessel, but of too friable a nature to be removed otherwise than piecemeal. Also, a bronze buckle without the pin.

No. 12. Nearly north and south.—Depth of the grave four feet nine inches. The head and shoulders were placed in a recess. At the waist lay the common iron knife, a bronze ring or buckle, a large circular ornament in bronze (fig. 12), with a design in the centre, like the Arabic numeral 3; probably it appertained to the girdle. Beside it were two flat bronze rings about two inches in diameter, to which wood or iron was partially attached.

Beads were found near the neck, amongst which was a long black glass bugle, a triple bead, and seven amber beads.

No. 13. East and west.—A very irregular grave. The skeleton, lying on its side, was that of an old person; no relics.

No. 14. East and west.—Irregular grave, two feet deep only. By the right side was a small spear-head or spiculum; just below it, two very small bronze studs, a knife, and the tooth of an ox.

No. 15. North and south.—Eight large beads by the left hand (figs. 7, 8, 9), pieces of iron, and fragments of bronze tubing, portions perhaps of a needle or a stiletto case.

No. 16. East and west.—A very shallow grave; the skull scarcely twelve inches under the surface; the feet more depressed. A glass bead lay by the right ear; lower down, a bronze buckle (fig. 10), and a little bronze holder for a coin, with a coin suspended. (*See woodcut*).

There is a medal of Constantine (and the Stowting example seems to be of this Emperor's reign), with a loop for suspension, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The presence of Roman coins in Anglo-Saxon Graves, often found near the head and neck, has induced some antiquaries to consider that the Northern nations adopted the custom, in imitation of the Roman practice, in which a coin was often placed in the deceased person's mouth as an offering to Charon, a sort of passage money. Mr. Akerman has given an instance ("Proceedings," May 1865) of a coin found in the mouth of a Saxon skeleton, the jaw being stained with the green crugo of the bronze. He hints that coins of the Emperor Constantine, on account of their frequent occurrence in Pagan graves, might be the "classical pagan *viaticum*." I must remark, however, that the third-brass of Constantine is in some places exceedingly common. At Canterbury it represents one half of the small Roman pieces found there.

No. 17. North and south.—Bones of a young person; no antiquities.

No. 18. East and west.—A shallow grave. Two beads only, an iron key, fragments of keys, and an iron knife.

No. 19. North and south.—Three-and-a-half feet deep. Seven beads, a knife, and fragments of keys.

No. 20. East and west.—Shallow grave. A knife and broken keys, an iron buckle by the waist. Also, a black earthen vessel, crushed apparently by the plough; it lay close to the surface. Also, a small fragment of black glass.

No. 21. This was a remarkable grave, or rather vault. It contained six skeletons, all lying nearly north and south. It was of a circular shape, nearly nine feet in diameter, and from four feet six inches to four feet eight inches in depth. As it was the lowest down the field, it had probably been somewhat increased in depth by the washing down of the soil from the upper part of the ground, as well as by the action of the implements of agriculture. The skeletons lay all on the same level. The skull of the second touched the left shoulder of the first, and the skull of the third the left shoulder of the second. The skulls of

the other four were parallel with the shoulder of the second interment. The feet were curved round, and nearly altogether, corresponding in some degree with the circular wall of the grave. The interments lay so close together that there was great difficulty in distinguishing the special relics of each. There were four or five necklaces of beads, comprising about one hundred beads. One or two of the necklaces consisted almost solely of small double and triple beads and bugles. Two of the necklaces, as well as I could note, were composed of the larger beads. They lay near the breasts and necks.

Amongst the first articles taken out were the beads and fragmentary keys; two spindle-whorls; a bronze bodkin (unfortunately lost); a bronze girdle ornament (fig. 3), of a pattern I never before met with; a fibula of very archaic shape, and of a type also unknown to me (fig. 5);[a] solid bronze rings; two iron rings; two Roman coins (Dioclesian and Constantine), and a second and a third brass. Near these was a segment of ivory or of bone, perforated, and a purple bone-counter or button.

Leftwards to the third or fourth skeleton lay a small rude glass circular fibula. A fibula, set with twelve garnets, divided by thin partitions of silver (fig. 6). It has a solid silver back. I found at Sarr one much resembling it. I took out, further, a very small circular fibula faced with garnets; another rather larger, with three garnets, slightly damaged; also, two small bronze circular fibulæ; a fine cruciform fibula, three inches and a quarter long, set with three garnets (fig. 13). Besides the above was a spiral silver ring found encircling a finger-bone. It was unfortunately broken. A pair of iron tweezers and iron buckle, four iron knives and a bronze buckle, bronze suspension rings, one having a buckle attached, a bronze ring or ring fibula, and bronze tag, were also found (fig. 11).

A bronze wire ring was taken out in fragments.

Amongst the beads in this collection are two large blue-ribbed earthenware beads, commonly assigned to a Roman origin.[b] I do not see why they may not be attributed to the same mechanics or workmen who wrought the other beads. Amongst these, are large and small amber beads, several glass beads, some peculiar for their very large bores, double and triple beads, and black bugles, the whole forming an interesting collection.

No. 22. East and west.—A very shallow grave. Nothing but a black earthen vessel too friable to be removed.

[a] It is possible this may be an ornament once attached to horse trappings.

[b] Similar beads have been found at Faversham, Sibertswold, and Barfreston, in Anglo-Saxon graves.

No. 23. East and west.—Adjoining the last. A very shallow grave; no remains but a black earthen vessel in fragments, probably crushed by the plough. This remark applies to the skulls, which in two or three instances, where the upper soil was scarcely nine inches deep, had met with a similar fate.

No. 24. East and west.—A shallow grave. It produced a few beads and a bronze stiletto.

No. 25. East and west.—A small irregular grave. The head had been placed on a ledge of chalk. I found only a small bronze buckle by the neck. The teeth were those of an aged person, and much decayed.

I venture a few remarks upon Grave 21.

I have found nothing like it in any previous researches. Its circular form as a Jutish or Anglo-Saxon grave is remarkable, and I believe without example.

We may well wonder what common calamity consigned these Anglo-Saxon ladies to the same grave and at the same time, for there was nothing in the construction of the vault to lead us to assume that the bodies could be deposited at any lengthened intervals of time.

At Bishopsbourne, Mr. Thomas Wright and others opened a tumulus which contained six skeletons; no relics, however, were found but a small knife and pieces of iron. At Sarr were several double interments. The first grave I opened contained two skeletons, the feet of one touching the head of another. In this case possibly one grave had run into another.

Anglo-Saxon graves containing more than one occupant are generally found to be unproductive; such at least has been my experience, except in the case of a grave at Sarr, wherein two old men, warriors, were buried one above another. One corpse had evidently been covered in before the other was interred. The grave was abundant in weapons, and produced a sword, three spears, a large axe, a long knife, umbones, and a sort of iron palstab.

Celtic tumuli, I need scarcely add, frequently contain a plurality of interments. At Exton Hill, Mr. Bateman opened one wherein were seven skeletons, the centre interment being surrounded by six others. Mr. Warne, in his "Celtic Tumuli of Dorset," gives an example at Dewlish of urns and skeletons placed one above another.

Mr. Thomas Wright, in his work "The Celt, Roman and Saxon," mentions an interment at Ozengall which contained a male and female; and another in which were deposited three skeletons, which, as he observed, might be those of husband, wife, and child, victims perhaps to some Danish invasion, yet rescued to be interred in the grave-yard of their countrymen, or subjects of some desolating pestilence. Nevertheless, No. 21 at Stowting is an extraordinary example, par-

ticularly from the fact of the similarity of the condition of the deceased, and their ornaments or relics. The perforated bone object found in the same grave resembles a similar relic from Long Wittenham, discovered by Mr. Akerman,[a] in 1860, in connection with spindle-whorls, as at Stowting, and confirms the opinion of that antiquary that it had some reference to the distaff. Professor Owen, Mr. Akerman informs us, considered the relic in question formed from the antler of a deer;[b] an object similar, but still more imperfect, was found at Starr, yet not one spindle-whorl appeared in all the 272 graves opened at that place.

At the period when the cemetery at Stowting was in use there was probably a population scattered through the valley immediately beneath it. At Brabourne Lees and on Stowting Common similar interments have been found. The practice of these Jutes, Anglo-Saxon or Old English—the latter term appearing to me to be the most appropriate—was to bury their dead at some distance from their settlements. Hence, we find their graves on lone hill-sides or open commons, on the "downes," as at Sarr, Adisham, Barham, Ileden, Kingston, Chartham, and other places in East Kent.

It is remarkable, however, that no cemeteries have ever been found belonging to certain localities where a numerous Anglo-Saxon population must have been located. Thus the neighbourhood of Canterbury has yielded only a few isolated relics. The same remarks apply to Reculver, Sandwich, and Richborough, unless we are to consider Gilton and Ash as belonging to the latter stations. Ashford and Dover have yielded but few Anglo-Saxon remains.

Are the burial-grounds of Reculver or Canterbury, where the Anglo-Saxon kings in Pagan times held court in rude magnificence, and attracted a considerable population, yet to be discovered? Or are we to assume that Chartham or Barham Downs, or, in the case of Reculver, that Hoath or Bromfield, were the localities to which the dead, borne for miles over the country, were finally consigned? and that Ozengall, Minster, or Sarr, represent the ancient burial-places of such inhabitants as might have once been settled in the Isle of Thanet?

The distance in most cases would be considerable, and the corpse must have been borne in cars, carriages, or by some other conveyance.

What, then, was the mode of Anglo-Saxon burial? and to what uses were those extraordinary objects called "clinch-bolts" adapted?

At Stowting not one of those implements turned up. At Sarr I found them

[a] Mr. Akerman had previously found a similar object at Wingham, and Mr. Neville at Little Wilbraham.

[b] Archæologia, vol. xxxix. p. 140.

in twenty graves and more. Some authorities have considered them to be the iron rivets of long shields? My opinion is, they are the iron bolts of biers or stretchers upon which the dead were laid or borne. We have no proof that long shields were used by the people whose interments we have been describing; on the contrary, their shields were circular, with an iron umbo or boss in the centre, and with iron bands; very like, in fact, one species of circular fibula, with its centre hemisphere of ivory or stone, and the slices of glass or garnet which adorned its field.

The diameter of these shields is about eighteen inches. We have, then, everything which would constitute their entirety but the wood or leather which formed their discs, for even the impression of a circular shield was seen for a few moments at Sarr on the floor of a grave where it had lain. Nothing, I think, corresponding to these clinch-bolts could apply to the Anglo-Saxon shield? Indeed, if so, they ought always to be found with the umbones and smaller bolts and plates belonging to such shields; but this is not the case.

In one grave at Sarr more than seventy of these objects were found; wood adhered to their entire length, between the nuts or screws. The weight alone of such a mass of iron would refute the idea they constituted part of a shield.

The Rev. Bryan Faussett, in upwards of 800 graves in East Kent, described in the "Inventorium Sepulchrale," has referred directly or indirectly to what he considered the evidences of the existence of coffins in 413 graves out of that number. There has never, however, appeared to be sufficient remains of wood, or wood ash, to prove to me in any way that coffins were used in the cemeteries of Sarr or Stowting.

The Anglo-Saxon sword, found in 27 graves at Sarr, lay generally by the left side, often touching the bones. It crossed occasionally over the knees to the right. The umbo, evidence of the shield, was often on the breast, but by no means generally so placed. As a rule, the spear-head lay by the right shoulder or ear; the ferule on the same side; frequently at the right foot.

All these articles, from the level they occupied, seemed as if primarily placed in contact with the corpse. If a coffin existed, and such objects were placed upon it, or beside it, this would hardly be their position. They could not be placed within the coffin, at least I think the shield could not, unless the coffin had no lid. The presumption is, that no coffins were used, at least not at Sarr. No remains of any were found, although occasionally a fragment of wood, or wood ash, appeared. In a few instances only, there was evidence of poles of wood, bars, or planks, placed at each side of the corpse, but, as there was no appearance

of wood in the centre of the grave, I presume those remains were rather the evidences of a stretcher than of a coffin.

In the former case, canvass or linen might have been used as a support for the body, it being attached to the poles or bars by the clinch-bolts.

The corpse of the Anglo-Saxon, clothed in some fashion, either in a shroud or in the habiliments of the deceased, was taken from the carriage or stretcher, or the stretcher was lowered into the grave.

I am certainly of an opinion that a bier or stretcher was sometimes placed in the grave and left there. In the latter case, the grave must have been considerably longer than the body, so as to have allowed room for the projecting handles. At Sarr, graves were found seven, eight, and in some few instances ten, feet long; but I am not prepared to say that clinch-bolts were found in these graves always, nor in these graves only.

In a few instances, the floors of the interments were strewn with the turf or sod cut from the upper soil, as I have frequently detected the remains of decayed vegetable fibre under circumstances which appeared to favour this supposition.

The body, in many cases, was accompanied by some weapon, implement, relic, or trinket. Thus the lady had her jewels and beads; and every woman almost had her keys, or rather her bunch of keys, and a knife. A vessel of glass or pottery, or of metal, or of metal and wood combined, was placed sometimes at the head, and occasionally at the feet, of the deceased.

Was this practice, in deference to the lingering rites of cremation, an imitation of those Roman burials, constantly exhibiting their evidences in the soil around? or did it arise from some conventional idea, that in these receptacles food or liquor must be stored to minister to the wants of the deceased?

We hesitate to reply. The Abbé Haignère,[a] in his description of the sepulchres of Erchinghen, near Boulogne, alludes to a practice in France, as far back as the 12th century, of placing a vase of holy water in the grave. "That which we call holy water," continues the Abbé, "existed, in virtue of primitive tradition, under the term of *eau lustrale*."

The fashion of the pottery in the graves was various. Sometimes it took the shape of the modern squat beer-jug, with handles, as in two specimens found at Sarr. By the side of one of these objects was placed a pillared glass vessel. Sometimes we find an elegantly-shaped long-necked vessel; sometimes a small open-mouthed one, of the coarsest materials. Certain glass vessels, as the one from Grave 4 at Sarr, slight in fabric, thin as note-paper, and of most elegant

[a] Congrès Archéologique de France, 27 Sess. à Dunkerque.

form, with little drops, like tears, suspended externally on slender lines, seem made especially for sepulchral purposes, and placed in the graves of the influential and well-endowed.

In respect of weapons, we find the arms of adult males of all sorts in these burials.

Mr. Akerman[a] describes a spear-head, reversed,—a symbolism, he thinks, of the profession of the deceased—a boy priest, who had embraced Christianity; a stoup, on which were engraved Christian devices, having been placed by his side.

Amongst incongruous things taken from these "Old English" graves I may mention horse-trappings[1], and iron bits[2], little bronze weights and scales[2], an iron bell, dice[2], counters[2], a door-lock[2], children's metal toys[2], a jeweller's crucible[2], or iron casting-pot[2], the iron horns of a bow[2], spindle-whorls[4], a mirror[3], girdle ornaments[4], a coin suspender[4], a fork[7], hair-pins[5 6], toilet implements, golden bracteates and braid[2 3 4], combs[2 3]; lastly, a crystal ball[2], suspended in laps of silver, and a silver strainer[2] washed with gold and set with garnets, perforated in the centre with five holes: Douglas would have considered the last enumerated objects as pointing to some magical rites; and I am not at all assured that in so doing he would be wrong.

Fragile articles, especially glass and pottery, were often carefully protected from the weight of the external soil. The stoup and black earthen vessel now exhibited are examples; and a glass vessel found at Sarr was placed in a little recess cut into the chalk at the head of the grave. Wooden boxes, bound and plated with bronze, some having iron handles, were often used for the protection of small and delicate articles, although few remains of such articles are found, except such portions of them as came in contact with metal. Metal, especially bronze, acts as a preservative to wood and bone. I have found bones in immediate contact with it perfectly sound when the skeleton otherwise was completely gone.

Probably there was some rite or feast or ceremony at burials dedicated to the people whose remains I have been describing; some procession undoubtedly following the deceased warrior, in which his sword, his shield, and his spear were borne, whilst his horse and his slave, as described by Tacitus, followed also—one, or both, amongst certain European nations, to be slain at the obsequies.

[a] Archæologia, xxxviii. p. 335.

[1] Faversham. [2] Sarr. [3] Kingston Down. [4] Stowting. [5] Gilton. [6] Brighthampton. [7] Harnham. [8] Ozengall.

Homer's description of the funerals of Hector and Patroclus, although unhistorical, carry a certain evidence about them that they represented the practices of a period with which he was acquainted, and describe the obsequies of great men and kings. The two ceremonies alluded to differ in some respects, as though the poet made a distinction between Grecian and Trojan rites.

Achilles lays his own yellow locks on the hand of his dead friend ere the pyre is lighted, and sacrifices human victims amongst dogs and horses. The burnt bones first quenched with wine are collected into a golden urn, and the feast and games are held on the spot.

A golden casket incloses also the ashes of Hector, but the mourners adjourn to feast in the royal palace of Troy. The dead body, previous to cremation, is overspread with shawls of purple dyes. A grave is cut in the soil; the remains are covered with masses of stone, and a vast tumulus is reared—

Such were the rites to glorious Hector paid.[a]

No such ceremonies as these were attached to our rude old English forefathers that we know of, although Scandinavia has her traditions how grandly some of the old sea-kings were buried. Nevertheless, of rites, ceremonies, or feasts, there are certain vague hints scattered in the graves I have been describing.

There is the singular deposit of an ox's tooth found in the graves at Stowting; more frequently too ashes of burnt wood, a clinker or a coal-ash,—evidences perhaps of some funeral repast, in the presence of the dead, before the earth was shovelled in.

In a Roman sepulchral vault, formed of massive timber and planks, and brought to light by a railway cutting five-and-twenty feet below the surface of the soil, I found oxen teeth under the lowest urn of the interment. I found them also at Sarr, with mussel and oyster shells, some of the latter being unopened, that is, with the valves in position.

Neither at Stowting nor at Sarr were there any evidences of tumuli. The removal of soil and the interment of a body, as in our church-yards, would naturally produce an agger, and, from the even appearance of the upper soil and the propinquity of some of the graves, I am inclined to think no artificial barrow had been raised. Yet, as the cemeteries both of Sarr and Stowting have been for years under the plough, it would be rash to pronounce a decided opinion.

To Mr. J. B. Sheppard of Canterbury I owe the complete state in which the Anglo-Saxon stoup appears, and the means he adopted for its preservation.

I cannot conclude without expressing my obligation to the occupier of the land, Mr. Newington, and to Mr. Thomas Burch, his neighbour.

[a] Earl Derby's Homer.

XXII.—*On the Castra of the Littus Saxonicum, and particularly the Castrum of Othona.* *By* THOMAS LEWIN, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read June 20th, 1867.

THE *castra* of the *Littus Saxonicum* were nine in number, and are thus catalogued in the *Notitia*, the military survey made of the Roman empire in the last stage of its existence:

1. Branodunum or Brancaster.
2. Garianonum or Burgh Castle.
3. Regulbium or Reculver.
4. Rutupiæ or Richborough.
5. Dubræ or Dover.
6. Lemanæ or Lymne.
7. Anderida or Pevensey.
8. Portus Adurni or Bramber Castle.
9. Othona.

In discussing the subject of the *castra* I propose to follow the course which my own mind took during the investigation. The first question then I asked myself was this, As the *castra* were certainly Roman works, and therefore constructed during the sway of the Romans in Britain, what was the terminus *a quo* and terminus *ad quem* of the Roman dominion? I had no hesitation as to the commencement of the period, as Aulus Plautius, who first established a footing in Britain, transported his legions thither in A.D. 42.[a] But with respect to the close of their dominion I was more at fault. The monastic fables of Gildas, Nennius, and Bede caused me embarrassment; but at length I stumbled upon a contemporary Greek historian, Zosimus, and found myself upon *terra firma*. In A. D. 407, Constantine III. proclaimed himself Emperor in Britain, and passing into Gaul carried with him the strength of the Roman army. In A. D. 408, Constantine sent his son Constans with the flower of the troops into Spain; and in A. D. 409, when Gaul and Britain were both denuded of their usual garrisons, Gaul was overrun by a host of barbarians, Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, who crossed the Rhine; and simultaneously with this movement Britain shook off the Roman yoke and

[a] See Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*, p. 274, No. 1641.

declared its independence.[a] Procopius incidentally informs us that the Romans were never afterwards able to recover possession of Britain,[b] and this is confirmed by the singular fact that coins of the Roman Emperors have been discovered in Britain until Constantine III. inclusive, but the series reaches no further, a convincing proof that with him the Roman domination ceased. So sensible was Honorius himself, the Emperor of the West, of his inability to maintain Britain as part and parcel of the Empire, that, instead of threatening the rebellious province with vengeance, he sent letters to the chief municipal cities that henceforth they must look to their own safety.[c] Thus in A. D. 409, after a *rule of just* 367 *years*, the Romans abandoned the island, which thenceforth, until the arrival of the Saxons about half a century later, was a miserable wreck held in piecemeal by domineering municipalities or by ambitious chieftains, aptly designated by Procopius in the passage already referred to as "Tyrants."

I had next to satisfy myself to what particular period during this dominion these *castra* were assignable, and upon inquiry I found them distributable into two distinct classes, viz. 1, those built to suppress internal rebellion, or to keep open the communication with the continent; and, 2, those erected with a view to meet any sudden invasion from a piratical enemy. Of the former class were the *castra* at Richborough, Dover, and Reculver, and of the latter class were those at Brancaster, Burgh Castle, Lymne, Pevensey, Bramber Castle, and Othona. As to the *castra* erected without reference to piratical invasion, I have been able to collect but few data. Aulus Plautius, who was the first to establish himself in Britain, is said to have planted a garrison amongst the Dobuni, which was probably at Corinium or Cirencester, so called from the river Corin or Chirn, which flows by it into the Isis.[d] His successor, Publius Ostorius Scapula, formed a

[a] "ἐφ' ᾧ Γερόντιος ἀχθόμενος, καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι περιποιησάμενος στρατιώτας, ἐπανίστησι Κωνσταντίνῳ τοὺς ἐν Κελτοῖς βαρβάρους· πρὸς οὓς οὐκ ἀντισχὼν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ πλείονος τῆς δυνάμεως μέρους ὄντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πάντα κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιόντες οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον βάρβαροι, κατέστησαν εἰς ἀνάγκην τούς τε ἐν Βρεττανικὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐθνῶν ἔνια, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἀποστῆναι, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βιοτεύειν, οὐκέτι τοῖς τούτων ἐπακούοντα νόμοις. Οἵ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας ὅπλα ἐνδύντες, καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν προκινδυνεύσαντες, ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν ἐπικειμένων βαρβάρων τὰς πόλεις."—Zosim. lib. vi. c. 5.

[b] "Βρεττανία δὲ ἡ νῆσος Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη. . . . Βρεττανίαν μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔσχον· ἀλλ' οὖσα ὑπὸ Τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενε."—Procop. Bell. Vand. i. 2.

[c] "Ὀνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ χρησαμένου πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι παραγγέλλουσι," κ.τ.λ.—Zosim. lib. vi. c. 10.

[d] "Κἀνταῦθα (inter Bodunos) φρουρὰν καταλιπών."—Dion. lx. 20.

chain of *castra* along the banks of the Severn and its tributary the Avon, which rivers were at that time the boundaries of the Roman province westward.[a] Aulus Didius, the next Proprætor or Legate of Britain, is said to have pushed a few castles forward, which were evidently in the interior *and not on the coast.*[b] At the time of the insurrection under Boadicea, A. D. 61, the Romans were in possession of a number of garrison camps and castles dispersed about the country,[c] but the colony planted at Camulodunum or Colchester was as yet unprotected by walls or ramparts.[d] The Proprætor or Legate who most devoted himself to fortification was Vettius Bolanus, who was sent to Britain by Vitellius in A. D. 69. The province was then nearly drained of troops to assist Vitellius in the struggle for the Imperial purple on the continent, and Bolanus was obliged to secure himself as well as he could in Britain by strengthening the military defences. This fact we learn from a passing allusion of Statius in his panegyric on Crispinus the son of Vettius Bolanus.

> Behold yon watch-towers that invade the sky,
> The castled camps that lift their heads on high,
> With trenches deep like yawning gulphs below!
> All these, Crispinus, to thy sire we owe![e]

We may be certain that the *castra* at Richborough, Dover, and Reculver, so aptly described in these lines, were at least in existence within forty years after the Roman invasion under Aulus Plautius; but I think we may fairly assume, from the necessity of the case, that these *castra*, probably the first erected by the Romans, had been constructed some time previously.

As to the other class of *castra*, viz. those which were designed exclusively to counteract piratical invasion, the dearth of authentic information is truly surprising. Britain appears from the very earliest times to have been exposed to hostile irruptions from the continent. Long before Cæsar, and therefore long before the

[a] "Cunctosque castris ad Auvonam et Sabrinam fluvios (Ostorius) cohibere parat."—Tac. Ann. xii. 31.
"Præfectum castrorum et legionarias cohortes, exstruendis apud Siluras præsidiis relictas, (Silures) circumfundunt."—*Ibid.* 38.

[b] "Paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis."—Tac. Agric. 14.

[c] "Sparsos per *castella* milites (Britanni) consectati, expugnatis præsidiis, ipsam coloniam invasere."—*Ibid.* 16.

[d] "Nec arduum videbatur exscindere coloniam nullis munimentis septam, quod ducibus nostris parùm provisum erat, dum amœnitati prius quam usui consulitur."—Tac. Ann. xiv. 31.

> "....vigiles speculas, castellaque longe
> Adspicis? Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia fossa."
> Stat. Sylv. lib. v. Ad Crispinum, v. 145.

commencement of the Christian era, the Cwmri from the Cimbric Chersonese had obliged the Celtæ, the aborigines of the island, to retire northward, and then the Belgæ, from the opposite coast of Gaul, had possessed themselves of the southern parts of the island, and driven the Cwmri into the more mountainous parts of the west. The culminating influence of the Roman power put an end for many centuries to these inroads, but when Roman ascendancy was on the decline, and the Empire was so enfeebled that all its remaining strength was drawn towards Italy, so that there was a want of circulation at the extremities, the Saxon hordes again issued forth, and overran Gaul by land, and Britain from the sea. The general name for these marauders was *Saxons*, the dominant race, but the term comprised not only the Saxons proper, but the Franks, Alani, Suevi, Vandals, and other swarms from the German hive. After no little research I have not succeeded in finding any exact notice of these piratical descents upon Britain until the time of Diocletian. In A.D. 286, Maximian, who had been associated as the colleague of Diocletian in the Empire, was engaged in clearing Gaul from a host of barbarians who had crossed the Rhine and plundered the province. The Saxons at the same time committed dreadful ravages upon the coasts of Britain, and Carausius, a Menapian from the banks of the Rhine, who had distinguished himself by brilliant services during the campaign in Gaul, was appointed admiral of the Roman fleet to repress the continental buccaneers. Carausius was a man of consummate talents, but wholly unprincipled, and, instead of shutting up the Saxons in their native woods, and sealing the outlets of their ports, he purposely allowed them to land on the island and plunder the inhabitants, and then lay in wait for them on their return, and seizing the booty poured it into his own coffers. This scandalous conduct reached the ears of Maximian, and Carausius, to avoid the punishment he had so richly merited, seduced the allegiance of the fleet, and sailing with it to Britain, took possession of the province and declared himself Emperor.[a] Carausius maintained his independence for seven years, when in A.D. 293 he was slain by Allectus,[b] who was afterwards slain in his turn; and in A.D. 296 the island again became a member of the Roman Empire.[c]

In A. D. 358, in the reign of Constantius, the Saxons made a great naval expedition down the Rhine, and spread themselves like an army of locusts over the

[a] Eutrop. ix. 21. Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. c. 39.

[b] Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. c. 39.

[c] Eutrop. ix. 22.

Roman provinces on the continent,[a] and there can be little doubt that at this period the Saxons were equally active across the seas, though the fact is not recorded in history.

We pass on to the reign of Valentinian I. in the latter half of the fourth century, when Saxons, Picts, and Scots all infested the south of Britain from different quarters.[b] In A.D. 368 Valentinian was in Gaul when the mournful intelligence was brought that the Saxons had made a successful descent upon Britain, and that Nectaridus, the Count of "the *maritime tract*," had been slain, and that Fullofaudes the commander had been circumvented in an ambush.[c] Here for the first time we have mention made of the count of the *tractus maritimus*, afterwards more commonly called the *Littus Saxonicum*, and the circumstance that such an officer now existed and had the charge of the coast shows that an organised system of defence was now at least in operation. The Count had troops under his command to meet any hostile attack from the sea, and as these troops were from the nature of the case posted at great distances from each other, they must for security have occupied regularly intrenched camps. The *castra* of the Saxon shore were thus certainly in existence in the reign of Valentinian I. and some of them, perhaps, were first erected by him. We know that he established a line of castles along the banks of the Rhine for the purpose of checking the incursions of the Saxons on the continent,[d] and a similar policy was adopted in Britain.

On receipt of the news of these disasters Valentinian I. sent over Severus, and then Jovinus, but neither of them was equal to the occasion, and then necessity brought forward an officer of acknowledged ability and long experience, Theodosius, the father of the Emperor.[e] He sailed from Boulogne, and, landing at Richborough, marched to London, cut off the predatory bands by piecemeal, and, in the course of that and the following year (A.D. 368—369), cleared the province of every foe, and re-established the Roman ascendancy.[f]

The poet Claudian, but whose panegyric on Theodosius's victories must be received *cum grano*, speaks of the Orcades as reeking at this time with the blood of the Saxons, and Thule with the blood of the Picts, and Ireland as bending in

[a] Zosim. iii. 1 and 6.

[b] Amm. Marcell. xxvi. 4. Claudian. iv. Consul. Honor. sub initio.

[c] "Nectaridumque Comitem maritimi tractus occisum, et Fullofaudem ducem hostium insidiis circumventum."—Amm. Marc. xxvii. 8, s. 1.

[d] *Ibid.* xxviii. 2, 1.

[e] *Ibid.* xxvii. 8, 1.

[f] *Ibid.* xxvii. 8, 6; xxviii. 3, 1.

grief over heaps of the Scots, who it thus appears occupied not only Scotland but also great part of Ireland.[a]

At the close of A.D. 369 Theodosius was recalled to the continent; but before he quitted the island it is expressly stated that he "*restored* the cities and garrison camps (*præsidiaria castra*), and guarded the borders of the province by planting watches and outposts."[b] From the passing allusion to the *castra præsidiaria* it is a common opinion that Theodosius was the first to erect the *castra* of the Saxon shore; but we have seen that they must have existed at a much earlier period, and it is observable that the historian does not say that Theodosius *built*, but that he *restored* the *castra*. The natural supposition is that the barbarians who had overrun the island before the arrival of Theodosius had not only slain the Count of the Saxon shore and captured the Roman commander, but had carried the Roman intrenchments and dismantled the fortifications, and that Theodosius now repaired the breaches, and again placed the island in a state of security against the predatory incursions to which it had been recently exposed.

From the reign of Valentinian I. we advance to the reign of Valentinian II. At this period Britain was again reduced to the utmost extremities, and was like a carcass upon which were collected the vultures from the four quarters of heaven. The Saxons invaded from the east and south, the Picts from the north, and the Scots of Ireland from the west. But once again the country was saved by the military hero of the age, the famous Stilicho. It is uncertain in what year he was in Britain, but probably about A.D. 380. Whenever it was, he carried all before him, swept the swarm of barbarians from the province, and restored it to a state of security. From the allusion of the poet to the safety of the sea-coast from Saxon invasion, it may be collected that Stilicho also bestowed particular pains upon the *castra* of the Saxon shore.[c] About a quarter of a century after

[a] ". . . . . Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule:
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."—Claud. iv. Consul. Hon. v. 31.

[b] "Instaurabat urbes et præsidiaria, ut diximus, castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis."—Amm. Marc. xxviii. 3, 7.

[c] "Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit (Britannia)
Me juvit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."—Claud. Laud. Stil. lib. ii. v. 250.

this, in A.D. 409, the Romans finally abandoned Britain; and not long after came the Saxon deluge.

These are the only details that history has preserved respecting the *castra* for checking piratical invasion, and if I were asked to fix a precise date for the time of their erection I should name A.D. 289, in the reign of Carausius. The Saxon inroads had then been at their height for some years, and Carausius, at open war with the legitimate emperors of Rome, had to fortify the coast line against both Saxons and Romans. What more likely than that he should have provided for the safety of himself and his kingdom by a connected line of garrison camps? If this be so, the period during which these *castra* of the *Littus Saxonicum* flourished was from A.D. 289 to A.D. 409, or just 120 years.

The monkish legends require to be noticed only to be thrown aside. Our earliest native historian Gildas, who wrote A.D. 560, tells us that when the Romans bade adieu to the island, they erected, as memorials of their good will, a wall across the island from sea to sea against the northern barbarians, and towers at intervals along the southern coast against the buccaneers;[a] and this account is reiterated in almost the same words by Bede, who wrote about the commencement of the eighth century,[b] and Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the twelfth century.[c] But how is it possible that when Rome was in its last agonies, and every soldier was needed to defend the heart of the empire in Italy, she could, as an act of mere generosity, have constructed such stupendous works at the very extremity of the world as a wall from sea to sea, and the *castra* of the *Littus Saxonicum?* We know, indeed, that the *wall* was built ages before, and we have satisfactory evidence that the *castra* also existed at the time of Theodosius, the father of the emperor, if not long previously. The fact is, that the wall and the *castra* were left by the Romans at their departure, and were used by the Britons for their protection, and thence the tradition amongst an illiterate people, who could not trace the fortifications further back, that the Romans, unable to guard the island themselves, had placed the province in the best state of security that circumstances would permit. The legend of the monks is utterly inconsistent with the testimony of Zosimus, the contemporary historian, who tells us (and he cannot be mistaken) that the Romans did not take a friendly farewell, but that when the

[a] "Murum . . . tramite a mari usque ad mare inter urbes, quæ ibidem forte ob metum hostium collocatæ fuerant, directo librant . . . in littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, quâ naves eorum habebantur, et inde barbariæ feræ bestiæ timebantur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant; valedicunt tanquam non reversuri."—Gildas Hist. c. 18.

[b] Bedæ Chronic. et Hist. lib. i. c. 12.

[c] Henric. Huntind. Hist. lib. i.

Roman eagles had been withdrawn by Constantine III. the Britons rebelled, and forcibly ejected the Roman remnant.

With these introductory remarks I proceed to some account of the *castra* of the *Littus Saxonicum* in detail.

1. Branodunum or Brancaster, at the very extremity of Norfolk toward the north, stands to the west of the town of Brancaster, on the north side of the road to Burnham. It is of an oblong or rectangular shape, the longer side being from east to west. It is now a complete ruin, and may contain about eight acres. The walls, of which some portion remains on the north side, were nine feet thick. The *castrum* is placed as usual on a rising ground at the head of the sea-marshes, and commands an extensive view. The fosse is still traceable in many parts, and Roman pottery and coins have from time to time been turned up, but not in the same abundance as in most of the other *castra*. The name of Branodunum is thought by the best authorities to mean Crow-down, from the Celtic *bran*, a crow, and *dun*, a down.

Here was stationed a body of Dalmatian horse. As this was the most remote of the line of posts, a troop of cavalry was no doubt quartered here, as the most easily disposable force for succour at a distance.[a] It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Roman *castra* were all occupied by Roman legionaries; with one exception they were all held by mercenaries drawn from foreign nations, more distinguished for their warlike propensities and courage than for their progress in civilisation. At Richborough alone was there a legion, viz. the Second, which seems to have been quartered there during nearly the whole period of the Roman domination.

2. The next *castrum* to the south after Brancaster was *Garianonum* or Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth. This admirable specimen of a Roman *castrum*, standing by itself remote from human habitation, has suffered little from spoliation by the hand of man, though time through so long a period has done its usual work. It is now fortunately secure from depredation, as many years since it was purchased by and still belongs to one of our most honoured Fellows, Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart. It is through his kindness that I have been enabled to examine the *castrum*, and from him I have derived a great part of the following particulars. *Garianonum* was no doubt so called from the river which in ancient as in modern times was known as the Yare, but, as the Romans did not use the letter Y as a consonant, the Yare in Latin became the *Garyenus*. The same phenomenon

[a] Blomefield's Norfolk.

appears in Greek also, as Ptolemy calls it the Γαρίεννος. *Garianonum* however, near the confluence of the Yare and the Wavency, is really not on the Yare, but on the eastern bank of the latter. It crowns a cliff which rises abruptly from the marshy flat of the river to a height of some forty feet, and the bank slopes at about an angle of 45°. The interior is, as usual, a ploughed field girt in by a wall fourteen feet high and nine feet thick on the north and east and south sides; but on the west, where is a rapid fall of the ground, there is no trace of a wall, and I believe there never was one. It was the custom of the Romans, as at Richborough and Lymne, to pitch the *castrum* if they could where there was a natural defence at least on one side, and thus to save some part of the expense of fortification. The present owner some time ago was at the cost of cutting a trench athwart the western side, to ascertain if any wall there had ever existed; nothing however was found but a sort of paved terrace or platform below, either for a promenade of pleasure or a wharf for landing goods. The river, which is now at some little distance, was then an estuary washing the very foot of the hill. There can be no doubt that the sea at one time covered all the area between Burgh Castle on the south and Caistor on the north, for in the marshes between the two shores have been frequently discovered anchors and rings, and other pieces of iron, which could have been of no use but for maritime purposes.

That a wall never ran along the south side of the *castrum* is obvious to the observer, for the precipitous bank is continued onward both north and south, and is covered with brushwood, so that no great change can have taken place, and yet, while the western side of the *castrum* is exactly even with the bank right and left, not a fragment or symptom of a wall can be discovered either above or below, or on the slope itself. It is further remarkable that the eastern wall is 214 yards, and the two side walls are just one half, or 107 yards each,[a] so that apparently the original proportions remain, and the western portion has not been reduced by the wear and tear of ages. The walls are constructed of unhewn stones, with a treble row of bond-tiles at intervals; and six or seven rows are still preserved. The tiles are, singularly enough, of precisely the dimensions recommended by Pliny, viz. $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot long, 1 foot broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick.[b] At about the middle of the north side was a round tower, and a similar one about the middle of the south side, and at the north-east and south-east corners are also towers; but these corner towers, though built of similar materials to the main wall, are apparently an afterthought, for they are not interlaced with the wall itself, but are adjuncts to it, and by the

[a] Grose's Antiq. and Ives's Remarks upon the Garianonum of the Romans. Yarmouth, 1803, p. 22.

[b] For an exact description of the foundations as examined by an architect, *see* Knight's "Old London."

effect of time have become partially detached from it. At the tops of the corner towers are round holes 2 feet deep and 2 feet in diameter, the use of which is uncertain, but they were perhaps for hoisting flags, or fixing wooden watch-towers, or semaphores for making signals to the camps at Caistor or Norwich, the *Venta Icenorum*. The area within and exclusive of the walls is computed at 4 A. 2 R. and (the walls included) at 5A. 2 R. 20 P.[a] and at about the middle of the west side, towards the river, is a deep and wide hollow or fall of the ground down to the marsh. I am informed that this opening is not natural, but has been caused by constant excavation for carting away the soil, but it is not unlikely that there was always here a descent to the level below, and connected with the terrace or wharf to which allusion has been already made. At the south-west corner within the *castrum* is a raised platform surrounded by a *vallum* sunk eight feet below the general level. This is commonly supposed to be the site of the *prætorium*,[b] but as there is a similar *vallum* within the *castrum* of Anderida, and which was clearly made by the Normans to defend a castle, it is not impossible that the *vallum* at Burgh may have been also the work of a later age for the security of some smaller fort within it.

Originally the *castrum* was surrounded by a trench, but at present it is traceable only on the north side. The burial-ground and also the *ustrina* or dust-hole were in the field on the eastern side, where numerous urns and broken pottery, &c. have been constantly exhumed.[c] The coins which have been found are of course extremely numerous, and reach from Domitian in almost an unbroken series to the latest Roman Emperors, but not beyond Constantine the *third*, during whose usurpation the Britons shook off the Roman yoke.

Most of these coins are of brass, but some also of silver and gold have been found.[d] Sir J. P. Boileau possesses an extensive collection of these coins, but an accident has rendered them comparatively useless. They were kept in a bag by themselves, and the coins collected from other parts in other bags, and each bag was duly labelled; but, in the absence of the owner, the coins from all the bags were poured out indiscriminately on the table, and now form a confused mass, and historically have lost their value.

Burgh Castle, like Branodunum, was the station of a body of foreign cavalry, viz. the Stablesian horse. I know not whence these came unless from the *Stabulenses* or people of *Stabula*, in Germany, conjectured to be the modern *Stoffelsfelden*.[e]

In the time of the Saxons and about A. D. 636 Burgh Castle was devoted to a

[a] Ives, p. 39. [b] Ives, p. 24. [c] Ives, p. 35. [d] Ives, p. 30.

[e] *See* Wesseling, Anton. Itin. *sub voce* "*stabulis*."

monastery. Sigebert, fifth king of the East Angles, on his return from France, to which he had been banished by Erpenwald his predecessor, brought Christianity back with him, and appointed Felix Bishop of Dunwich, now swallowed up by the sea. Felix employed Fursæus, an Irish monk, to aid in the labour of conversion of the East Angles, and Fursæus and his followers found a safe asylum from the assaults of heathenism within the walls of the old Roman *castrum*, where they established a monastery;[a] but history, which has recorded the commencement, has passed over in silence the end of this ecclesiastical refuge.[b]

3. The three next *castra* of the *Littus Saxonicum*, viz. Regulbium or Reculver, Rutupiæ or Richborough, and Lemanæ or Stutfall, have been admirably described by Mr. C. Roach Smith, to whom I am indebted for a great part of the following particulars:

Regulbium or Reculver was seated on a little projecting headland, which on the north overlooked the Thames, and on the east and south the Wansum or channel which separated the Isle of Thanet from the mainland. The encroachments of the tide on the north are most remarkable. In Leland's time, in the reign of Henry VIII. the *castrum* is described as "within a quarter of a mile, or a little more, of the seaside." About 150 years later, in 1685, an old map still represents the *castrum* as entire, and gives a space about the breadth of a road between it and the sea.[c] A century later (1780—1790) the north wall of the *castrum* had been overthrown by a fall of the cliff.[d] In 1805, between the church, which occupies a central position, and the cliff, a carriage could pass; and in 1809, from the church to the cliff was an interval of five yards only.[c] Thus, in 250 years the sea had washed away more than a quarter of a mile of the coast; and if we reckon backward to the middle of the first century, when the Romans first established themselves in Britain, the waste of the coast at the same rate would amount to a mile and three quarters.[e] The two sister towers of Reculver

[a] Bede, iii. c. 19.

[b] Upon the balk of a kitchen in a small farm-house in the parish is cut an inscription, which Ives has figured on a plate dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries, no doubt as a puzzle upon which they might exercise their ingenuity. He reads it thus: "Bis acuad atin denuo reedificatur—Twyce brent aforne is bylt agenn bi Robir Thorne the Parson, 1348—62." The words "acuad atin" evidently signify burnt before, but how this meaning can be extracted from any Latin words bearing the slightest resemblance to them exceeds my understanding. Ives, p. 49.

[c] See C. Roach Smith's Reculver, p. 192.

[d] *Ibid.* p. 194.

[e] On the Norfolk coast at Bacton it appears that the land is washed away at the rate of at least 90 yards in 35 years, which would amount to between two and three miles since the Christian era. (See Athenæum for 6 April, 1867, No. 2058, p. 455.) The wear on the Norfolk coast would of course be greater than in the estuary of the Thames.

church have for ages been a well-known sea-mark to mariners, and this circumstance has saved the remnant of the *castrum*, which in the ordinary course would by this time have been entirely swept away; but in 1810 a paved breakwater was formed at the foot of the cliff, which now effectually checks any further inroad. When I was there on April 2nd, 1866, the bones of the dead were projecting confusedly from the cliff, and some had fallen out and were lying below.

The changes on the eastern side are of a character still more extraordinary. When the *castrum* was built the sea flowed as a broad estuary from Reculver to Richborough, and the Isle of Thanet was an island in reality and not in name only. Fleets sailed, at least at high water, along the strait, and so avoided the delay and danger of doubling the North Foreland. The earliest notice of this inlet is to be found in Solinus, who flourished about 1800 years ago, and he speaks of the Isle of Thanet as divided from the mainland of Britain at that time by a narrow estuary.[a] In the time of the Saxons it was called the Wansum; and Bede, who wrote at the commencement of the eighth century, describes it as of the breadth of three furlongs, with a ferry in two places only.[b] These two ferries are referred to in a charter of Eadbert, King of Kent, and are placed at Sarr and Sandwich.[c] The mouth of the estuary at Reculver was called by the Saxons Nordmutha, and in A.D. 1050 the Saxon Chronicle speaks of a fleet as lying within the Nordmutha,[d] and two years after this, viz. in A.D. 1052, Harold, with all his ships, sailed from Sandwich by this channel to Nordmutha.[e] And so late as the fourteenth century, viz. A.D. 1313, the monks of St. Augustin at Canterbury claimed "wreccum maris in maneriis suis de Menstre, Chistelet, et Stodmersch," all which manors were in the flats of the Wansum.[f]

The question constantly recurs, How is it that estuaries in the course of a few centuries become filled up? A phenomenon observed by me at Reculver will

[a] "Adtanatos insula adspiratur freto Gallico, a Britanniæ continente æstuario tenui separata."—Solin. Polyhist. c. 22. How can this be reconciled with the tradition that the Goodwin Sands were once part of the mainland?

[b] "Est autem ad orientalem Cantiæ plagam Tanatos insula non modica . . . . quam a continenti terrâ secernit fluvius Vantsumu qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum et duobus tantum in locis est transmeabilis."—Bede, Hist. lib. i. c. 25.

[c] "Donare decreveram . . . . duarum navium transvectionis censum qui etiam nostri juris erat in loco cujus vocabulum est ad Serræ [Sarr] . . . . . sicut à regibus *Merciorum Æthilbaldo . . . et rege Offan* longe ante concessum est tributum in loco cujus vocabulum est *Lundenwic* [Sandwich]."—Historia Mon. S. Aug. Cant. London, 1858, p. 322.

[d] Saxon Chron. Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 440. [e] *Ibid.* p. 449. [f] Thorn, (*apud* Twysden,) 2015.

serve to explain this. The strong foundations of the walls that surrounded the *castrum* must unquestionably have been laid at least a foot *below* the surface. At present the lowest stratum of the wall is from two to three feet *above* the surface of the ground about it, so that since the erection of the *castrum* more than a yard in depth of the soil upon this eminence has been washed away in the course of 1800 years. This is not a solitary case, but all the hills which shut in the Wansum have suffered more or less in the same way; and if we consider the mass of material thus stripped off the hills and poured into the valley, we shall cease to wonder how it is that the surface of the valley has been raised to its present height. In an estuary like the Wansum the action of the sea is also to be taken into consideration, for in this part of the coast the tide is clogged with a quantity of silt, which settles and is deposited as soon as the water is quiescent. Thus, while earthy matter is poured down from the hills a body of silt is brought up by the sea. The scour of the water keeps open a channel in the lowest part, but the rest of the valley gradually rises until it reaches nearly high-water mark, and then the industry of man steps in and excludes the tide by embankment. Even where the sea has no access a valley naturally rises. The rains fall, and the earthy matter descends from the hills, and the stream brings down a further contribution. The valley below becomes flooded, and a deposit rapidly goes on, except in the main channel where the scour is, and at length a level plain appears intersected by a central river.

The *castrum* of Reculver occupies about eight acres if we include the walls, and about seven acres if we regard the interior only. The walls are 12 feet high on the exterior, and 11 or 12 feet thick, and those on the east and south and partly also on the west still remain. The principal and indeed the only gate appears to have been on the west, in which direction lay the town of Reculver. There are several singularities about this *castrum* which are not found in others. Thus there are no traces of any towers or of any bonding tiles, or of any pounded brick in the mortar. The whole structure is composed of flints and pebbles cemented together, and, contrary to the natural supposition, the lowest pebbles are at the base. The *castrum* was occupied by a cohort of Vetasii or Betasii, a people of Brabant.

In the time of the Saxons it became (like Burgh Castle) the seat of a monastery, as appears from various charters commencing with one from King Ecbyrht, dated A.D. 669.[a]

[a] C. Roach Smith's Reculver, p. 221.

4. Rutupiæ or Richborough stood on the brow of a cliff or headland overhanging the river Stour, and before it on the north was spread out the marshland between Sandwich and the Isle of Thanet. Reculver commanded the northern mouth of the Wansum, as Richborough did the southern. There can be no doubt that in Roman times Richborough was one of the most frequented ports; vessels there unloaded and received their cargoes, and many of them passed onward along the Wansum into the Thames. At the foot of the hill on which the *castrum* is erected, and a little to the north of the *castrum*, has been discovered a wharf four feet high, of brickwork, and triangular in form, with the apex towards the marsh. This was no doubt the quay or landing-place, or one of the landing-places, for the supply of the *castrum* and the commerce of the town.[a] The trade passed up the channel of the river Stour to Richborough, as now in diminutive proportions to Sandwich, but the *terra firma* which is now under cultivation was then, at least at high water, covered by the tide. This conversion of sea into land is, as we have seen, not owing to any retreat of the sea, or to any upheaving of the land itself, but to the simple causes already adverted to, viz. the wash of the soil from the adjoining hills into the low ground, and the deportation of soil from the inland regions by the action of the river, and partly also by the deposit of the silt brought up from the sea by the tide. The rate of the growth of soil may be tested in some degree by the diggings about Richborough. It is well known that the Richborough oyster was peculiarly prized by the Romans.

> . . . . . Circeis nata forent, an
> Lucrinum ad saxum, Rutupinove edita fundo
> Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.
>
> Juvenal, iv. 140.

About the *castrum* are found in abundance the shells which the Roman gourmands have bequeathed to posterity, and in the marshes, at the depth of from four to six feet, are exhumed the oyster beds which about 1800 years ago supplied the Roman tables; such, therefore, had been the accretion of soil from the first century of Christ to the reclamation of the marsh, an interval of about 1000 years.

Richborough was the most important of all the *castra*, and the only one which was the station of a Roman legion, the Second. In contradiction to our own system the legions were continued for ages in their original quarters. During the whole period of the Roman domination the Second legion never moved from Richborough. Not only was there a numerous soldiery within the *castrum*, but

[a] C. Roach Smith's Reculver, p. 53.

the population of the neighbourhood must have been very considerable, for to the south-west of the *castrum* has been discovered an amphitheatre 68 yards by 70. The seats, indeed, have disappeared, but the configuration of the theatre can still be distinctly traced.[a]

Richborough maintained its consequence during the whole period of the Roman rule, for coins of all the emperors, from the first to the last, are constantly brought to light from the area of the *castrum* and its vicinity. On the retreat of the Romans in A.D. 409 the *castrum* passed into the hands of the Saxons, and their coins have also been found. When Kent became Christian, the asylum of religion in an age of violence was naturally within the strongest rampart, and in the *castrum* of Rutupiæ, as at Burgh Castle, Reculver, and Othona, was probably erected one of the first Christian edifices in Kent. Mention is made of Richborough Chapel in a very ancient document,[b] and the foundations of a building in the form of a cross may still be traced in the area of the *castrum*.[c]

5. Lemanæ comes next under our notice. There is some uncertainty as to the nominative case of this word, but, as in the Antonine Itinerary and the *Notitia*, the places are mentioned as a general rule in the ablative case, and this town is expressed by the word Lemanis, there is little doubt that the name was Lemanæ. The etymology is involved in equal obscurity. As Stone Street led from Canterbury to Lymne, it has been ingeniously suggested that Lemanæ is to be derived from the two Celtic words, *lle*, a road, and *maen*, a stone. But *lle* is not properly a road but merely a place; and besides the name of Lymne is probably much more ancient than the dominion of the Romans, by whom Stone Street was constructed. I should surmise that the word Lemanæ is rather to be traced to the river Lemanus, afterwards called the Rother, which in prehistoric times flowed at the foot of Lymne hill, and discharged itself into the sea at Hythe. The river Lemanus again was so called from the marsh through which it flowed, and the Celtic word for a marsh still exists in Leman, the name for the Lake of Geneva, and in the Greek λίμνη, and the Latin *limus*.

The *castrum* at Lemanæ resembled that at Richborough in its position on a cliff which overlooked an extensive marsh, but there was this distinction between the two, that Richborough was on the crown of the hill and Lemanæ on the slope. Richborough is still erect; but the *Castrum Lemanense*, from the soluble nature of the soil, has become so dislocated from repeated landslips that no one, to judge from the surface, could determine its original form. It has been ascertained

[a] C. Roach Smith's Richborough, p. 52. [b] *Ibid.* p. 51. [c] *Ibid.* p. 45.

from excavation that it was pentagonal, with the apex looking up the hill to the north.

Lymne, like Richborough and Burgh Castle, exhibits the remarkable feature of one side undefended by a wall. On the south a trench has been cut to discover if any rampart at the foot of the hill toward the marsh ever existed, and the negative may be assumed as certain. At Richborough, as at Burgh Castle, the marsh side was protected by the steepness of the cliff. At Lymne the marsh side was no doubt defended by a broad wet ditch, or, as Mr. Elliott the engineer of the marsh supposes, by a spacious lake, of which he thinks the banks can still be followed through the marsh.[a] It cannot be admitted that the river Lemanus flowed there during the Roman period, as it had undoubtedly been diverted to Romney, and the *Portus Lemanis*, or Port at Lymne, was not a port at the foot of Lymne hill, of which not a vestige was ever traceable, but was the port afterwards known as Hythe.

The Saxon military force quartered at Lymne was a body of Turnacenses, an infantry regiment supplied from Tournay in Gaul.

6. Of the *castrum Dubris*, *i.e.* at Dover, not a vestige remains, and even the position of it is matter of surmise. On the towering height of the castle hill there are two concentric areas, one of small dimensions, about the size of an ordinary Roman *castrum*, and the other of considerable extent, and inclosed by the still existing castle wall. The *castrum* must have occupied the inner and narrower space. That it was held by the Romans for naval if not for military purposes is evident from the fact, that in the centre of it stands an old Roman Pharos. The argument, however, has the less weight, as it appears from an ancient map amongst the archives of the town that formerly there was a Roman Pharos also on the cliff to the west of the port. As to the etymology of *Dubræ*, the name of the *castrum*, the more correct form of writing it was no doubt *Durbæ*, as the city clearly took its name from the river Dour, on which it stands. The Dour runs but a short career, as it rises from the chalk hills about six miles only from Dover, but the stream is beautifully clear and soon becomes a river, and in its progress turns a number of mills in rapid succession. The Dour is of course the Celtic *Dwfr*, pronounced by the Welch like the French name for the town—Douvres.

Dubræ or Dover was the station of the Tungricani, a body of infantry drawn from the Tungrii, a people of the Low Countries, neighbours of the Nervii and Betasii.[b]

[a] See paper by T. Lewin on the Portus Lemanis, Archæolog. vol. xl.

[b] Tac. Hist. lib. iv. c. 66.

7. The site of *Anderida*, another *castrum*, was formerly much questioned, but the general, if not the universal, voice is now in favour of Pevensey.

The *castrum* of Anderida took its name from the Great Forest, which, on the land side, pressed upon it on the north, east, and west. The etymology must be sought for in the Celtic language, in which Anderida signifies the Black Forest. Thus (to resolve the word into its elements) *An* is "the," *deru*, "oak forest," and *dy* is "black," signifying "the Black Forest," an appropriate name for the vast forest, the counterpart in England of the Black Forest in Germany.

As you approach Pevensey by the railroad from Hastings, just as you clear the flat marsh-land, and near the station, Pevensey Castle is seen at the distance of about a quarter of a mile on the right hand. The railway station itself is on *terra firma*, and just beyond it, westward, is a considerable cutting, of some 15 or 20 feet. On alighting at the station you advance towards the castle up a gentle rise in a north-westerly direction, and at the end of a third of a mile, and after passing the church on the right hand, you come to the *castrum*, standing on a knoll on the very verge of the marsh, which lies to the south. The knoll rises above the marsh about 25 or 30 feet, and at the foot of it, towards the marsh, is a wet ditch, but no river either there or on any other side in the immediate vicinity, though a small stream, 10 or 12 feet wide, runs towards the sea about a quarter of a mile on the east. Between the *castrum* and the river (to call it so) was formerly the flourishing town of Pevensey, now a mere village. The distance of the *castrum* from the sea may be about half a mile. Along the margin of the sea is a shingle-bank, thrown up by the waves. In ancient times the little streams from the interior kept open a passage through the shingle-bank, and within the bank was the famous Pevensey Bay, where the merchants frequented and vessels of war lay at anchor. This cannot be disputed, as we read in the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 1046) that Earl Harold "went to Pevensey and lay there weather-bound;" and again (A.D. 1050) that Earl Godwin "went from Sandwich with 42 ships to Pevensea;" and again (A.D. 1052) that Harold, with Godwin, "went eastward until they came to Wight, and went thence to Pevensea, and got away thence as many ships as were there fit for service, and so onwards until he came to Ness, and got all the ships that were at Romney, and in Hyth, and in Folkstone."

The same causes that converted the Wansum and Romney Marsh into dry ground have operated at Pevensey. The land-streams continually brought down the soil from the hills; and the sea, entering by the mouths of the little rivers into the estuary behind the shingle-bank, rapidly deposited the silt with which

it was charged. Thus the bottom of the bay gradually rose, until the estuary was too shallow to float vessels of burden. The same process continued, and the level rose higher and higher, until at last it emerged at low water from the abyss, and invited man to prepare it for cultivation. Pevensey has lost its importance as a port, but is compensated to some extent for its misfortune by the acquisition of new territory. The streams which had kept open the shingle-bank, and thus opened a gangway to the tides, are now carefully confined within earthen walls, and thus the marsh is drained and made over to flocks and herds.

The *castrum* itself occupies about eight acres, and is of an oval form, but with the sides somewhat flattened on the north and south. Originally the whole was surrounded by a wall; but on the south side, toward the marsh, the rampart has been undermined, and the massive fragments are seen at the foot of the knoll on which the *castrum* stands. Part of the wall, on the north side also has disappeared, and both on the north and south are groups of ash trees, and on the south they afford an asylum to a colony of rooks. I looked in vain for traces of the fosse which must once have defended the *castrum* on the west, north, and east sides. The walls, where standing, are about nine feet thick; but this is the minimum. The foundations, where they appear above ground, are of large squared stones, and upon them rise 15 rows of hewn stones, about the size of our bricks, and then double or triple, or sometimes quadruple, layers of bonding tiles, and then 15 rows of stones, succeeded by layers of tiles, &c. The height of the walls at present may be about 30 feet. Where the heart or core of the walls is laid open, it consists of rude stones or flints, strongly cemented. The larger stones of the foundations have in many places been abstracted, so as to present a cavity reaching inwards for three or four feet. In some cases the cavities have been filled up by modern masonry. The principal entrance was on the west, flanked on each side by semicircular towers. On walking round the *castrum* I found these towers repeated at the distance, from centre to centre, of 43 paces, and the diameter of each tower was eight paces. Ten of these towers are now standing. The walls carry with them the impress of various ages. Built by the Romans, they were repaired by the Saxons (as is particularly evident from the herring-bone masonry on the east), and were afterwards taken in hand by the Normans, who here erected one of their stately castles. But the nest of the Roman eagle was too spacious for the Norman sparrow-hawk, and the castle built by the Normans occupies but half an acre, at the south-eastern corner, leaning on one side against the old Roman wall, and defended on the other by new walls and towers, and further secured by a deep moat. It creates a little surprise to find within the

castrum, on so elevated a spot, a standing pool of water of no small dimensions, and the abundant spring that supplies it may have been one of the attractions that determined originally the choice of the Romans. The Norman castle, within the *castrum*, was hexagonal; and the towers at the angles are constructed of larger stones, and more nicely squared, than the gigantic Roman works. Within the castle, on the south-west, is a draw-well, 64 feet deep and 10 feet wide, and the beautiful hart's-tongue ferns that hang from the sides give it a graceful appearance. At about the centre of the castle-yard may be traced the foundations of a small chapel, lying east and west, 52 feet long and 18 feet wide, and at the west end are the remains of a rude font of squared stones, three feet high, but without any attempt at carving. At a cottage hard by is kept a list, which may be received as authentic, of the Roman coins found in and about the *castrum*. They bear the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Severus, Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, Maximian, Licinius, and Constantine and his family. At the same place may also be seen several stone balls, about a foot and a half in diameter, which had no doubt been hoarded within the *castrum* to supply the ballists, and they give one a great idea of the power of the Roman artillery before the invention of gunpowder.

8. Another of the *castra* was *Portus Adurni*, and, as the River Adur discharges itself at Shoreham, we must look for the *castrum* in that neighbourhood. It is now generally agreed that this *castrum* is to be identified with Bramber Castle. This stands on a singular isolated eminence, partly artificial, overlooking the low grounds on the south. On the east was the Adur or the marshes of the river, and on the other three sides the *castrum* was strengthened by a fosse. The walls which now remain may be referred to a comparatively recent period, but the site is just such as would have been selected for the defence of the Saxon coast. The etymology of the word Bramber is Celtic, *Bran bre*, and signifies Crow-hill, as Branodunum, the most northern of the *castra*, was Crow-down. The military force quartered at Portus Adurni was the *Exploratores* or Scouts.

9. Othona is the ninth and last that I have to describe of the *castra* of the *Saxonicum Littus*. It is the more interesting as only recently identified; its locality had been surmised, but it was matter of conjecture and not of certainty. Camden, the father of English antiquaries, had thrown out the idea that Othona was the Ythancester of the Saxons, and the Effecestre of Domesday, and had placed it at St. Peter's Head, on the southern lip of the Blackwater, in the parish of Bradwell. Philemon Holland confirmed the hypothesis, and added that a huge thick

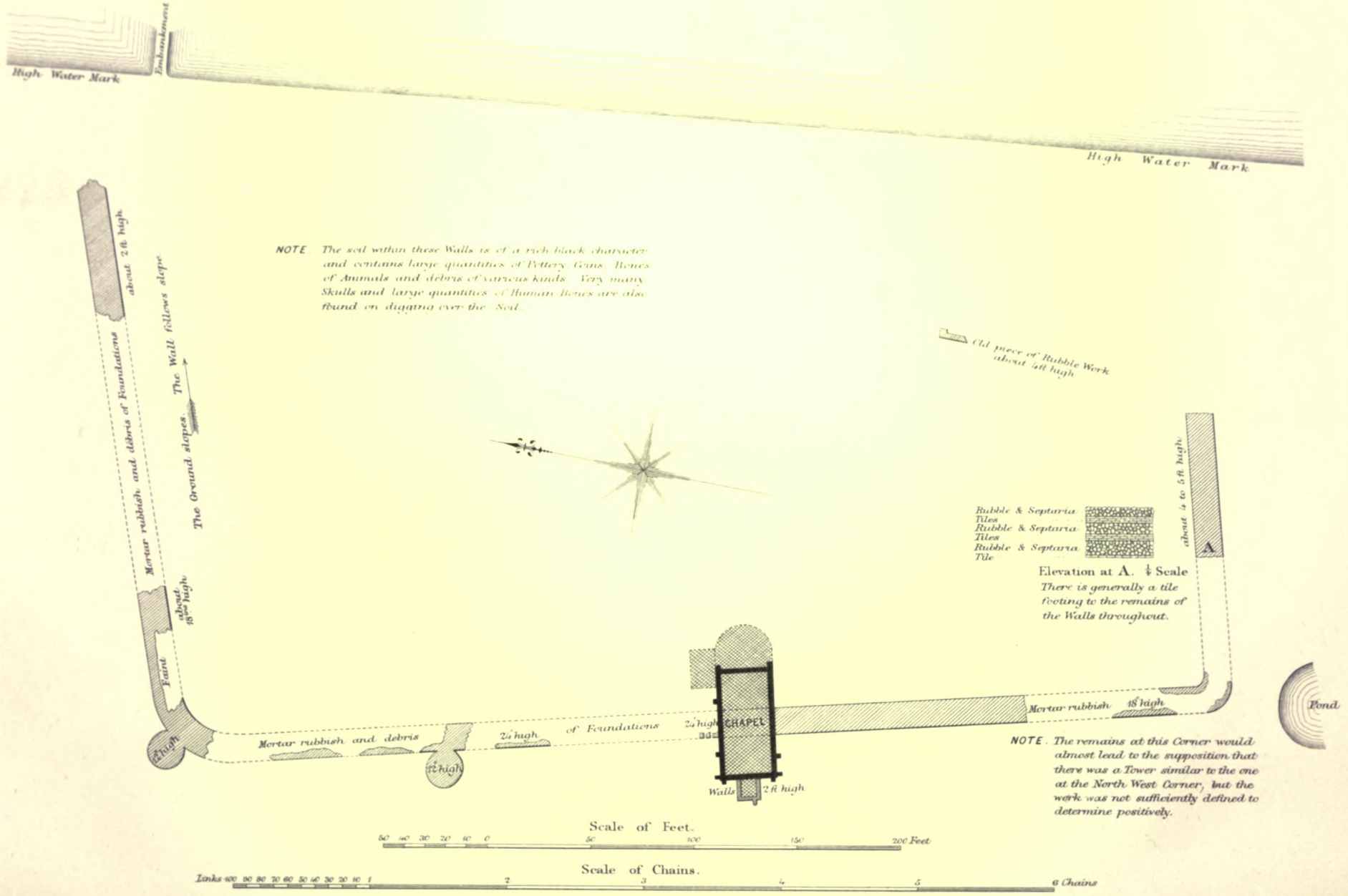
wall existed there, near which many Roman coins had been found.[a] Morant in his History of Essex adopted the same view, but still a cloud hung over the question, which has at last in our own day been completely removed by the results of actual exploration.

A few years since a Company called the "Essex Estuary Company," which afterwards became merged in the "South Essex Sewage and Reclamation Company (Limited)," was formed for inclosing the Essex marshes. In the course of their operations it became necessary to remove a quantity of soil at St. Peter's Head for the purpose of embanking, and in the progress of the work they came upon the foundations of a solid wall of Roman masonry, which proved on examination to be the southern wall of the long lost *castrum* of Othona. The property fortunately belonged to a gentleman who, though not a professed antiquary, was always on the look-out for additions to his store of knowledge, and with the true spirit of enterprise committed himself at once to a thorough investigation of the remains thus accidentally brought to light. Mr. Oxley Parker, the gentleman to whom I allude, and who has been kind enough to furnish me with all the information that I required, has with the most laudable zeal laid open the foundations of all that is left of the outer wall, and in the interior has cut a series of trenches parallel to each other, and only a few feet apart from east to west, so that he may be said to have exhausted the area, and to have done all that the most earnest antiquary could have desired, and much more than any one was entitled to expect. It is the fruit of these labours that I propose to lay before the Society, but before doing so I must beg leave to introduce some general remarks as to the site and name of Othona.

The Chelmer and Blackwater rivers unite at Maldon, and discharge themselves into the estuary, also called the Blackwater, which stretches for sixteen miles due east, and joins the main ocean at St. Peter's Head, the southern bank of the mouth of the inlet. St. Peter's Head is a tongue of land about half a mile broad from north to south, and originally no doubt projected a considerable distance to to the east; and at the present day at low water a muddy bank runs out to the extent of about three miles, and for a mile and a half it is almost level. The changes and freaks of the sea in this part are remarkable. At present all is mud or ooze, which has observably increased within the last ten years, but within the memory of man there was no mud, but a clear sand along the water's edge: indeed races were formerly witnessed on the sands, which have now totally disappeared.

[a] Morant's Essex, vol. ii. p. 574.

ROMAN REMAINS AT BRADWELL JUXTA MARE.



F. Chancellor del. March, 1867.

Kell Bros Lith. Castle St Holborn

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1868.

The *castrum* of Othona is seated about the middle (from north to south) of this tongue of land, but on the east the sea washes up to the walls, and has carried off a great part of them. That the land anciently extended far beyond the *castrum* is evident not only from part of the *castrum* having been washed away, but from the trunks of trees *in situ* being still found to the east of the *castrum*.

As to the name of Othona, it appears only once in history, viz. in the *Notitia* or military survey of the Roman Empire about the commencement of the fifth century, and, as the *Notitia* is very corrupt as to Britain, little reliance can be placed upon its orthography. I would rather defer to the authority of the eminent historian Bede, who speaks of Othona under the name of Ythancaester, *i.e.* the *castrum* of Ithona;[a] the latter word may be identified with the Ἰδουμάνια of Ptolemy, for it must be borne in mind that the Greeks still pronounce δ as *th* so that Idumania in the mouth of a Greek would become Ithumania, and then the transition to Ithona by contraction is easy. What then is the meaning of Ἰδουμάνια? It is no doubt of Celtic origin, and it may surprise some to hear that Ἰδουμάνια is nothing more than the Celtic for Blackwater: *Y-du* is the Black[b] and *aman* (the Celtic form of the Latin amnis) is a river or water, and thus Y-du-aman becomes Ἰδουμάνια, and by abbreviation Ithona or Othona.

The *castrum* itself is of a rectangular form, or rather approximates to it, as the north and south walls are not exactly parallel. On the exterior was originally a broad fosse, which can still be traced more or less distinctly on the north, west, and south sides, and at the south-west corner the water is still standing in it. The present area within the walls may comprise about five acres, and the space originally inclosed may have been about seven or eight acres. No part of the walls now rise above the surface of the ground, which explains why they remained so long undiscovered. However, the foundations have recently been traced throughout. On the west side only, the sea has made no inroad, and here the length of the wall measures 522 feet, so that if the *castrum* were a perfect square the contents would be 30,450 square yards. On the north the length of the remaining foundations is 290 feet, and on the south 150 feet. On this, the southern side, is seen the most perfect part of the whole, and from which the general structure of the masonry is distinctly recognised. The lowest stratum of all is a footing of tile, then a thick layer of several rows of stones, then a triple row of tiles, then

[a] Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 22.

[b] Thus far the learned Camden had traced the etymology, vol. ii. p. 123. Ed. Gough.

another layer of stones, then another triple layer of tiles, and so on. The existing remnant rises to the height of four or five feet. The thickness of the wall is about twelve feet.

On the south side is no appearance of any gateway, and from a quantity of sea-weed thrown up and found at the height of five feet above high-water mark, the sea must at one time have flowed up to the very walls, and perhaps along the trench by which the *castrum* was originally environed.

On the west side was the principal entrance or *Porta Prætoria*, not however, as might be supposed, in the centre, but at the distance of 240 feet from the southern and 290 feet from the northern end. The position of the gate may have been regulated by the internal arrangements. At the south-west corner are traces of a tower, corresponding no doubt to that of which the foundations are distinctly visible at the north-west corner. Between the south-west corner and the Prætorian gate was no other tower, but between the gate and the north-west corner stood another tower similar to those at the angles. The form of these towers was two-thirds of a circle the diameter of which was about 16 feet.

On the north side was no tower along the existing foundations, but there appear to have been two outlets or gates, of smaller dimensions, and of a subordinate character.

When I first visited Othona I carried with me a strong prepossession, that, as at Richborough and Burgh Castle and Stutfall, so at Othona, the sea itself was relied upon as a sufficient protection on the east, and that no wall had ever been erected on that side. At the first glance, however, I was satisfied that this was a mistake. At the other *castra* to which I have referred the bank is steep, and could be easily defended, but at Othona the ground slopes to the east so very gradually that the *castrum*, if not fortified on that part, might just as well have been destitute of walls altogether. At present, however, not a vestige of the eastern wall is to be seen, and no wonder. The cement used by the Romans, when exposed to the action of water, is soon dissolved, the stones are let loose, and are then carried away by the current. A heavy body loses so much of its weight in water, particularly in the sea, that the most ponderous masses are easily transported. The same phenomenon is indisputably presented in the case of the northern and southern walls, for on both these sides the eastern portion of the walls have been so completely dismantled and swept away that not a fragment even of the lowest foundation can now be distinguished.

Such is a general outline of the *castrum* as disinterred by the patriotic exertions

of Mr. Oxley Parker. For the dimensions and other details, in an architectural point of view, I must refer to the accompanying plan, which has been very carefully prepared by Mr. Chancellor, the architect, to whom, as well as to the Rev. J. Milligan, who has kindly allowed us to exhibit his own sketches of the chapel, we are much indebted.

Having described the shell of the *castrum*, we come now to the kernel, the interior. The *castrum* was occupied, according to the *Notitia*, by a *numerus Fortensium*, or band of the Fortenses. In the case of the other *castra* the designation of the troops is traceable to some nation or city, but here the appellation is evidently a derivative from *fortes*, and has much the same meaning with it, though of a more imposing sound to the ear.

The Fortenses are not mentioned in history, and Othona contains the only relics from which we can gather any information as to their accoutrement or diet or modes of life.

Their arms were the ordinary accoutrements of the Roman cohort, the sword, the spear, and the buckler. As to their subsistence the Fortenses were no doubt a hardy race, and accustomed to privations, but to judge from the *débris* of the *castrum* their table was not ill supplied, and sometimes was even provided with luxuries. The numerous oyster-shells that are turned up show that the rough soldier could appreciate the delicacy which so pleased the palate of the Roman gourmand. The more substantial provisions consisted of beef, and pork, and goats' flesh, as is manifest from the frequent recurrence of oxen and goats' horns and boars' tusks. Venison also not uncommonly smoked upon the board, for the antlers of the stag are almost as abundant as the horns of oxen. What is remarkable of the horns of oxen is, that they belong chiefly to the breed called the Chillingham cattle, and which are supposed in ancient times to have run wild about the vast forests which once covered this part of the country.

From the character of these remains (the horns, the antlers, and the tusks) we may draw a fair conclusion as to the habits of the garrison. When not engaged in active service their amusements lay in the chace, and perhaps when they were straitened for provisions their only sustenance was to be procured from the hound and the hunting spear. The circumjacent forests were unquestionably at that time of boundless extent, and would seem to have swarmed with herds of wild cattle, and wild boars, and deer. Exciting must have been the pursuit of such game, and many a sportsman of the present day may regret that Essex is not still the pristine forest.

But the Fortenses had also their domestic comforts, and were not debarred by

military discipline from enjoying the society of their wives and families. The pins, armlets, bracelets, rings, combs, beads, fibulæ, and other ornaments of female wear,[a] establish the fact that the Fortenses were not the Knight Templars of the day. Isolated as they were in a strange country, away from their friends and relations, they seem to have been allowed to create new homes within the *castrum* itself. With the exception however of a single fragment of a foundation-wall no traces remain of houses or hearths within the *castrum*; but, when even the gigantic walls of the camp itself have been recovered with difficulty, it may well be conceded that numerous mansions and humbler dwellings may once have covered the open area now so bleak and uninviting, without a vestige of pristine occupation.

What was the length of time during which the *castrum* was thus occupied is partly conjectured; as it was built solely and exclusively as a defence against piratical invasion, we may be sure that it was not constructed much before A. D. 286, when the Saxon buccaneers first becoming troublesome called for repression, nor was it garrisoned by Romans, or rather by a force in Roman pay, later than A. D. 409, when the last of the Roman troops bade adieu to the island. Some evidence may be derived from the coins, though they furnish but a vague estimate, as the Romans were not in the habit of calling in their coinage; but the pieces

[a] I have since been furnished by Mr. O. Parker with the following list of articles found at Othona:

Horns used for shoemaker's tools.
Spindle-whorls.
Bullæ, buttons, &c.
Fibulæ, Roman and Saxon.
Roman tooth-combs.
Lower jaw of boar and tusks.
Handles.
Styli.
Staples.
Metal plate.
Keys.
Bones of pigs' feet.
Cocks' legs with spurs.
Bone handles.
Strigil.
Bone case.
Bone implements.
Knives.
Lance-head.
Tweezers.
Armillæ.
Long needle.
Leaden weight.
Horn rings.
Two pieces of brass.
Pendant or tag.
Carved side of a box.
Carved bone case.
Jet bead.
Glass beads.
Glass vessels.
Bone pins.
Part of sickle.
Garden tool.
Steelyard.
Frankish axe.
Spear-heads.
Laminæ of bone.
Studs or nails.
Pieces of pottery.

were current until they were so defaced as to lose their identity. Mr. Oxley Parker has been kind enough to furnish me with a list of all the coins which have been found, and the following catalogue will form not the least valuable part of my paper. They range from Gallienus (who began to reign A. D. 260, and extend down to Honorius, in whose reign the Romans abandoned Britain, A. D. 409. Whenever the *castrum* was first occupied, the coinage which was then current would extend back for many years previously, say thirty years. We may therefore by the evidence of the coins found at Othona assent to the conclusion, that the *castra* proper of the *Littus Saxonicum* (of which Othona is the surest specimen, as from its site it could have been built for no purpose but to repel invasion,) were erected about A. D. 289, and lasted about 120 years.

The series of coins is as follows:

Emperors.	Began.	Emperors.	Began.
Gallienus	A. D. 260	Helena	306
Victorinus	265	Crispus	317
Claudius Gothicus	268	Constans	337
Tetricus	268	Licinius	337
Aurelian	270	Magnentius	350
Probus	275	Julian	361
Maximian	286	Valens	364
Carausius	287	Gratian	366
Allectus	290	Valentinian	375
Theodora	292	Theodosius	379
Constantius	305	Arcadius	395
Constantine	306	Honorius	395

The coins of the Constantine family are as usual the most numerous, and of any individual Emperor those of Carausius are the most abundant.

We now come to the second phase of Othona, namely, its state in the time of the Saxons. When the foundations of Othona were first laid there was probably not a habitation in the vicinity, but a garrison of from 500 to 1000 men was a centre of attraction which would soon collect about it, first a market to supply provisions and other necessaries, then stores and shops, and then permanent dwellings. Thus a town began to attach itself to the *castrum*, and gradually extending became ultimately a place of considerable importance. When the Romans left Britain the military influence which gave birth to the new settlement

was at once withdrawn, but by that time the town had so grown as for a time to be self-supporting, and for many centuries after this it struggled for and maintained an existence. We hear nothing of it from the departure of the Romans in A. D. 409 to the conversion of the East Saxons to Christianity in A. D. 653. But in the middle of the seventh century, when the East Saxons renounced paganism to embrace the Gospel, Ithona reappears upon the scene. Sigebert, afterwards called the Good, King of the East Saxons, was an intimate and dear friend of Oswy, King of Mercia, who was a christian. Sigebert was frequently a guest at the court of Oswy, and, seeing the absurdity of his own blind superstition as compared with the enlightened and spiritual religion of Christ, he announced himself a convert. His next object was (for policy as well as conscience' sake,) to bring over his subjects to the same creed. With this view, when he returned home, he carried with him a priest by the name of Cedd. The labours of this missionary were most successful, and throughout East Saxony or Essex numerous proselytes were brought over to the faith. Cedd gained so much credit by this extension of the Gospel (though the sunshine of court favour had much to do with it) that the ecclesiastics of Mercia, to encourage him to proceed, ordained him Bishop, and assigned Essex as his diocese. Cedd now redoubled his exertions, and every where established churches and ordained priests and deacons. The two most famous of these churches were those at Tilbury and Ithancester or the *castrum* of Othona. The passage itself of Bede may be worth transcribing. He writes,

"Cedd, having received the degree of bishop, returned to the province (Essex), and, fulfilling with greater authority the work he had begun, established churches in different places, and ordained priests and deacons to assist him in the word of faith, and in ministering baptism, more especially in that town which is called in the Saxon tongue "Ythancæster," and also in that which is called Tilabury (Tilbury). Of which two places the first is on the banks of the Pent, the other on the banks of the Thames, in which (places) having collected a swarm of the servants of Christ, he taught them, so far as in their rude state they were able to receive it, the discipline of religious life."[a]

The mention of the river Pent or Pant has been a puzzle to many, as if no such river were known, but in fact it confirms the identity of Othona with Ithanchester. The Pant is nothing more than the Blackwater. It is well known that rivers often bear one name at the mouth and another at the source, and sometimes one name and sometimes the other is applied to the whole length.

[a] Bede, lib. iii. c. 21.

Thus, what is now called the Rother was anciently known as the Limen at its mouth and as the Rother at its source, but in history the river as a whole is sometimes called the Limen and sometimes the Rovia. So with the Blackwater, the part between Maldon and the sea was the Idumania or the Blackwater, and the part above Maldon was the Pant. At the present day the river and estuary are both called the Blackwater, but in the time of Bede the river and estuary were both called the Pant. I observe that Capper, in his Topographical Dictionary (which is usually very correct), has fallen into an error, for he describes the Pant as "a river which falls into the Blackwater below Little Braxted," but this would be the stream called the Avon, which runs by Whitham. But in Pinkerton's maps the Pant is rightly identified with the Blackwater, which, rising near Pantfield, flows by Coggeshall. The learned Camden assumes, as a fact well known, that the Pant was the same as the Blackwater, and traces its course from Radwinter to the sea.[a]

As Cedd certainly erected a church at Othona, and as we find there at the present day the ruins of a building which has unquestionably been a church, and as the features of it correspond to the Saxon period, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing that in this tattered and dilapidated edifice we have the veritable handiwork of the old Saxon missionary Bishop Cedd. What a curious and interesting monument then is before us, curious as a specimen of the Saxon architecture of that period, but more particularly interesting as the earliest attempt at an ecclesiastical edifice in the county of Essex. As the church of a bishop, it may be regarded in the light of a cathedral, and if it little accord with that character, according to modern ideas, it must be borne in mind that the foundation was laid when Christianity in Essex was just commencing, when the majority of the population was still pagan, and when all England lay in comparative darkness. Even if we look at the church of St. Augustine the Archbishop, at Canterbury, we shall not find it of much larger dimensions, or much more imposing, than the church of Bishop Cedd at Ithancester.

The form of the building will be best understood by referring to the ground-plan; I may however sketch the general outline. The *position* of the chapel is not altogether what we might have expected. It is built in the very jaws of the *castrum*, in the *Porta Prætoria*, the western gateway. The greater part of it lies within the *castrum*, but a portion of it projects beyond it.

[a] I have since ascertained from a resident at Maldon, on whose authority I can rely, that the part of the estuary from the sea to within seven or eight miles of Maldon is still called the "Pant," so that Bede is strictly correct in placing Ithancester on the Pant or Pent.

The body of the church is a rectangle or oblong, and at the western end or front was a tower over the porch, and at the eastern end was an apse,[a] and on the north side of the apse was a sacristy or vestry. The length of the nave is 55 feet, and the breadth of it 28 feet, and the radius of the apse is 20 feet. The only part of the chapel now visible is the body. But for the excavations so perseveringly made by the proprietor, we should never have known the existence of the apse, or the porch, or the sacristy, as the foundations only can be traced. About the middle of the north side was, within the memory of man, an excrescence, of a square form. The foundations of it rest upon the plinth or set-off of the original building, and are independent of it, and the structure was probably of a much later date, and added perhaps when the church of a bishop had been degraded into a lighthouse or barn.

The quarry from which Cedd drew his materials is self-evident. They were furnished by the walls of the *castrum*, and Roman tiles amongst the stones are turned topsy turvy and in all conceivable positions. At the angles of the building are quoins of hewn stone, and, as mortice-holes are detected in them, they were no doubt taken from the jambs of the Prætorian gate. There are four buttresses on the north side, and the same number on the south, and two, viz. one at each corner, on the west. In some cases these buttresses appear to be bonded into the wall, but at the north-west corner the north wall evidently bulges outward, and I suspect that when the rude masonry of the original edifice gave way the buttresses were added for its support. The mortar is extremely hard, which has led some to think erroneously that the building is Roman, but it proves only that the art bequeathed by the Romans to the Britons was preserved by them for a couple of centuries. It must not be supposed that when the Roman troops, composed to a small extent only of Italians, were withdrawn from Britain, all the Roman civilians left, and the island relapsed into barbarism. On the contrary, very few of the Romans who were domiciled in Britain abandoned their homes, and certainly the arts which the Romans had planted in Britain survived for many generations.

A small part only of the *castrum* was occupied by the chapel. Another portion

[a] It is the opinion of some that in the interior the apse or chancel was approached from the body of the church by a double arch, and they rely upon the fact that at about the middle of the chord of the apse is still seen the base of a stone, which they think must have supported the division between the two arches, but in truth the stone is *not exactly in the middle*, and therefore, instead of supporting, disproves the theory.

of it immediately adjacent served as a churchyard, that the bodies of the converts to Christianity might rest in their peaceful homes, protected by the surrounding ramparts from the desecration to which otherwise, from the violence of pagan superstition, they might have been subjected. In the course of the excavations which have been made, numerous bodies have been disinterred about the chapel, and, as I am informed, all of them lying east and west, and so betokening a Christian burial. Outside the camp, on the other hand, bodies are also found, but they have been buried without the least reference to the sacred quarter of the East. Indeed it stands to reason that while the camp was occupied as a military station the interments must have been without it. Perhaps the *residence* of the monks was also within the area of the *castrum*, for they would here find a secure asylum. We have seen that in the same age Fursæus, an Irish missionary, established his monks within the walls of the Roman *castrum* at Burgh Castle, and Cedd would naturally adopt the like means of guarding against any popular outbreak.

We now leave Bishop Cedd, and advance to the state of Othona in the time of the Normans. Here our authority is that great survey which stands in the same relation to Britons that Homer did to the Greeks; I refer of course to Domesday Book. It appears from this survey that, at the time when it was composed, Ithancester was known by the name of Effecester, evidently a mistake for Ethecester, and a contraction of the longer form of Ithancester. We further collect from it that in the time of Edward the Confessor Ithancester was a manor, one part of which was held by Turchill and the other by Ingulph. At the date of the survey Turchill's part had been granted away to the monastery of St. Valery in Normandy, and Ingulph's part had devolved upon Hugh de Montfort.[a] To the latter portion was attached the advowson of the church at Bradwell, and, as according to Morant the chapel of Cedd in its decay was an appendage to Bradwell, I presume it followed along with it, and came to Hugh de Montfort.[b] The town of Ithancester, as well as the *castrum*, was evidently at the time of the Norman conquest still a place of some note, and yet, singularly enough, the very site of it cannot at present be traced. The tradition is that it stood on the east side of the *castrum*, on the tongue of land now covered at high tides by the sea,

[a] Terra Sancti Walerici, Hund. de Witbrichtesherna. Effecestram tenuit Turchillus liber homo T. R. E. &c.

Terra Hugonis de Monteforte, Hund. de Witbrichtesherna. Effecestre tenet Ulmerus de Hugone, quod tenuit Ingulphus liber homo T. R. E. &c.

[b] Morant's Essex, vol. ii. p. 377.

and presenting at low water a long low bank of mud or ooze. It is even said that the foundations of houses are met with in this direction, but I have not been able to meet with any respectable evidence of the fact. On the other hand there are circumstances which would rather lead to the conclusion that the town lay on the west side. In the first place it would on the land side be better sheltered from the constant blasts from the ocean, and, what is more to the purpose, the *Porta Prætoria* or principal gate, which would naturally be towards the town, was on the west, and the chapel also, which would be pitched with reference to the population, was built on the west. It need excite no surprise that all vestiges of the houses in this part have disappeared, for even the massive walls of the *castrum* itself have only recently come to light, and that by the merest accident. All however is conjecture, and therefore I would not venture to gainsay even a third opinion, viz. that Ithancester stood on the strip of ground which is still high and dry on the north side, between the *castrum* and the river. Why otherwise, it may be asked, has the *castrum* two outlets, though small, on the north, but none on the south?

For the next notice of the chapel I must rely upon Morant, the well-known author of the History of Essex. He says, "On that spot, which is now the north-east point of this hundred (Dengey), stood a chapel, de la Val or St. Peter's ad Murum. This was dependent on Bradwell, and a chapel-of-ease to it, whose rector did find a priest to officiate to it on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays."[a] We have here the name of the saint to whom Bishop Cedd had dedicated his church, and the selection of St. Peter as the patron saint of the first Christian church in the kingdom of Essex was very appropriate, as he held the keys, that is, was the apostle by whose means the door of the Gospel was first thrown open to the Gentiles. The gradual decay of the church, from being the primitive cathedral to becoming a humble dependency upon Bradwell, was just what might have been anticipated. At the time of its erection Ithancester was a flourishing town, but, as it had arisen and been fostered by the garrison of the Fortenses, so when they were recalled the symptoms of decay began. The spot in itself was uninviting and unhealthy, and the more cheerful and benign aspect of Bradwell gradually attracted thither the population of the exposed and now desolate *castrum*. Thus Bradwell became the principal church, while the spiritual wants of the few that remained at Othona were provided for by a chaplain. Morant proceeds to say that "A jury found in 1442 that it (the chapel) had a chancel, nave, and small

[a] Morant, Hist. of Essex, vol. i. p. 377.

tower, with two bells, that it was burnt, and the chancel was repaired by the rector, and the nave by parishioners. When it was founded, and by whom, they knew not." The tower here alluded to was no doubt that over the porch at the west end, for the two bells were in the tower, and if the tower was over the sacristy the ringers must have been admitted into the sanctum where the sacred vestments were kept, which is incredible. The finding of the jury that the chapel had been burnt is confirmed by the appearance of it at the present day, for the stones, in places, have a red hue, as if from the action of intense heat. I do not collect from the inquisition whether after the fire the chancel was actually repaired by the rector, and the nave by the parishioners, or whether the rector and parishioners were only liable for these repairs, but I should rather lean in favour of the latter view, as from this time we hear no more of the chapel. Both rector and parishioners would be glad to escape from a considerable expense, and it is very unlikely that the small remnant of population that still hovered about the devoted spot should have been able to compel a reconstruction, which, after all, would be of no great public benefit. We need not be surprised at the solemn declaration that the jury "knew not when it was founded, or by whom," for to judge of past country juries by the present, not one of them could have understood the pages of Bede written in Latin, and probably untranslated.

We have seen the *castrum* pass from military to religious purposes, but the chapel of Cedd was destined to fall still lower. In the reign of Elizabeth and her successors James the First and the two Charleses it became a beacon or lighthouse, and coins of Elizabeth and these kings, which have occasionally been found in or about the chapel, may be thus accounted for. It was probably on this occasion that the building assumed its present quadrangular shape. The apse and the sacristy and the porch at the western end were taken down, and the materials were employed in erecting a straight wall at the eastern end, and closing the doorway at the western end, and also in raising the height of the walls generally, for it is evident to the observer that the upper parts of the walls have been an afterthought. At the same time a new porch was built on the north side as the principal entrance, the foundations of which may still be seen, as already observed, resting upon the plinth or set-off of the old edifice.

I come now to the last scene of all of this eventful history. From a beacon or lighthouse the chapel was degraded to a more ignominious state still, and became (as it is now) a common barn for the store of agricultural produce. Even the porch on the north has now disappeared, and the four bare walls stand on the seashore, a

wreck, a skeleton, a monument of that instability and vicissitude to which all things human are subject. Not a dwelling is within sight, and the farm-labourer, and occasionally the curious traveller, are the only persons that ever visit the scene where once so many thousands were congregated.

XXIII.—*Some Account of Runic Calendars and 'Staffordshire Clogg' Almanacs.* *By* J. Barnard Davis, *M.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Staffordshire.*

Read May 23, 1867.

In proposing to give some notice of Staffordshire Clogg Almanacs, it will be fitting to begin with Dr. Robert Plot, the Natural Historian of the county. Not that I intend to follow him in his description of them, which is the fullest and best that has ever appeared. This would be unnecessary. But references and allusions to Plot must be frequent. That the Almanacs bore the name appropriating them to Staffordshire in his day, is evidenced by the title to the fine plate to the History (tab. xxxv.), dedicated to his patron "the worshipfull Elias Ashmole," which is, "The Clog or Staffordshire Perpetuall Almanack." There is another proof that they were called Staffordshire Almanacs at an early period, and thus, as it were, restricted to this county, for calling my attention to which I am indebted to A. W. Franks, Esq. the late Director of this Society. One of these calendars, now in the British Museum, belonged to the original collection of Sir Hans Sloane, which was purchased at his death. It is entered in Sir Hans Sloane's own manuscript catalogue, which appears to have been made as curiosities fell into his hands, as "A Runic or Staffordshire Almanack." The entry occurs towards the middle of the catalogue, and no doubt the Clogg was in the possession of Sir Hans many years before the close of his very lengthened life, in 1753. So that this fact is an additional evidence that these perpetual calendars were considered, in Plot's time and subsequently, to be proper to Staffordshire. When we shall come afterwards to mention the original source whence these instruments were derived, namely, the Runic Primstaves of the Danes, it will be difficult to account for their use being mainly confined to this county, which had no such special connection with these people, and, in truth, was not visited by the Danes so much as many other counties of England, where Clogg Almanacs are unknown. Plot, in his day (1686), speaks of them as "a sort of Antiquity so little known, that it hath scarce been yet heard of in the *Southern* parts of England, and understood now but by

few of the *Gentry* in the *Northern*."[a] In a preceding page he testifies to their being still extant and in use in his time, as he mentions them as "an ancient sort of *Almanacks* they call *Cloggs*, made upon square *sticks*, still in use here amongst the meaner sort of people." At the present day, so far from their use being extended, as Plot may be supposed to have anticipated, they are totally unknown in Ireland and Scotland, in the northern counties of England as well as in the southern, even as antiquities, which Plot, as we have seen, declared them to be, and they are now only known from the very few examples preserved in museums. Such have been the changes effected in more modern times, that the wooden perpetual almanacs have been long since superseded by the productions of the printing press. Hence it may be concluded that they are, in a singular degree, deserving to be regarded as local English antiquities. The result of the inquiries I have been able to make is to confirm the impression that these Clogg Almanacs properly appertain to Staffordshire, although some examples may have been made out of the county. I have not met with any mention of them in Ormerod's great History of Cheshire, or in Eyton's Antiquities of Shropshire. One specimen is believed to be of Derbyshire origin; which, so far as its history is known, is derived from Wirksworth. Still, they must have been very rare in that county, as there is only one in the Bateman Museum, and that one was purchased in Manchester. This is evidently an instance of a particular instrument clinging to a certain district. In Scandinavia, where Runic Calendars have been formerly in general use, there are large districts where every such almanac known is a *runeless Clogg*.[b]

[a] The Natural History of Staffordshire, by Robert Plot, LL.D. 1686. p. 419.

[b] It may be desirable in this note to mention the examples of Clogg Almanacs that have come to my knowledge. Not that this list can be considered to be complete. Their perishable nature explains the rarity of such objects.

1. The one which was formerly in the museum of Mr. Richard Greene, Apothecary, of Lichfield, the first to form a museum in the county of Stafford. This gentleman was a relative and a correspondent of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who on one occasion visited his museum, when he made the remark: "Sir, I should as soon have thought of building a man-of-war as of collecting such a museum." Mr. Greene's portrait, from an old copper-plate, is given in Dr. Stebbing Shaw's "History and Antiquities of Staffordshire," vol. i. pl. xxx. surrounded with curious objects indicative of his collection, as well as a view of the interior of the museum itself in pl. xxxii. This Clogg was in Mr. Greene's Catalogue called "A Runic Almanac," a misnomer (not peculiar to this catalogue only), as there are no Runes upon it; it is engraved on a quadrangular oaken staff, and is without date. At Mr. Greene's death it passed into the museum of Dr. Richard Wright of Lichfield, afterwards into the possession of Mr. G. T. Lomax, and is now exhibited in the public museum of that city, being lent for exhibition by its present owner. It has been carefully engraved in the Anastatic Drawing Society's Volume for 1860, where it is briefly described by Miss F. M. Gresley; and more at length by Rev. J. M. Gresley, in the "Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society," vol. i. p. 410.

That the Staffordshire Clogg Almanacs are remotely of Danish origin, as Dr. Plot declared them to be, there need not be any doubt. An older writer than Plot, Verstegan, alluding to the origin of the word almanac, says, "Our ancient Saxon ancestors used to engrave upon certaine squared sticks, about a foot in length, or shorter or longer as they pleased, the courses of the moones of the whole yeare, whereby they could alwaies certainely tell when the new moones, full moones, and changes should happen, as also their festival daies." These instruments may safely be regarded as the descendants, the modernized and simplified representatives of the Runic Primstaves of the North—Scandinavia and England—the use of which had not entirely passed away in Norway in the last century, and in some of the islands of the Baltic at the early part of this. It must not be overlooked that Runes were letters employed in England,—the Colony,—as well as in Scandinavia; and moreover that Runic Calendars were in the hands of the people of England when Runes were in use. So that in reality the Staffordshire Cloggs are derived directly and immediately from English Rimstocks. All this may be said without shutting our eyes to the fact of the essential difference between the two sets of instruments, the Runic Calendar and the Clogg Almanac, a difference which the nomenclature of the most respectable authorities wholly overlooks. We have seen Sir Hans Sloane, and Mr. Greene, as quoted in Dr. Shaw's 'History,' and they are not alone, confounding Runic Calendars and Staffordshire Cloggs,

2. One in the Bateman Museum, at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire; also on a squared oaken staff, and bearing the certainly original date, 1626. It was bought at the sale of the collection of Mr. Thomas Barritt, of Manchester.

3. The "Finch Clogg" of oak, in Chetham's Library, Manchester.

4. The "Moss Clogg," also of oak, in the same library, bearing the date 1589.

5-8. Four in the British Museum, one of which is that derived from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and two of the others are from the Harleian Collection. They are all engraved on squared staves of wood, are without dates, have no handles, except one which has a very small one, and are of different sizes, the longest being 16 inches, the shortest 6½ inches long. One of them has the signs of the Zodiac upon it. The shortest may be looked upon as a pocket Clogg.

9. One in the collection of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

10. One in the possession of Rev. John Smith Doxey, Rochdale. This is the one derived from Wirksworth, which can be traced for one hundred years or more in the family of the owner, although its use was not known.

11. One in the collection of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is 16 inches long, and made upon a stout squared block of the wood of an English fruit-tree, probably pear tree. The large Clogg at the British Museum and this are so much alike that they may be supposed to have been made by the same hands. They are distinguished for being of the same size, being well executed, for each having a magnificent harp for St. David's day, and an equally magnificent rake on the 11th of June, for the commencement of hay-

in the most indiscriminate manner. The two form altogether distinct classes. The ancient ones, *in both countries*, were Runic Staves; the later ones, in Scandinavia as well as England, are *runeless* calendars. The Cloggs do not retain a single rune in their inscriptions, but chiefly agree with the older instruments in the fact, that both present symbolic signs for the "mark-days" of the year, that is, for the immovable feasts and the days emblematic of the seasons.

The Runic Calendars are described as being used in the Scandinavian North by the oldest Danish writers, to whom Dr. Plot refers. Both Olaus Magnus, the Archbishop of Upsala, in his "Treatise on the Customs of the People of the North," published in 1555, and Olaus Wormius, the Danish physician, in his "Fasti Danici," 2nd edition, A.D. 1643, speak of them. The latter gives woodcuts of some curious ones, designates them Danish Calendars, doubtless because they were invented by the Danes, continually used by them, and sculptured with Runes, characters originally peculiar to the Northern nations. In fact, although all examples of which we have any account are Christian, and we may refer their use

time, and for both containing a long reclined notch, representing the bough of a tree, on the 2nd of March, St. Ceadda's day. This indicates the mode of life of St. Chad, who was a hermit, and dwelt in the woods near Lichfield. He is retained in the English Calendar, and an ancient church in that city is dedicated to him. In this Cambridge example the first day of each month is distinguished in a particular manner, by having a little pin-hole at the bottom of the notch for the day; probably these holes may have originally held brass pins, as in other examples, which have dropped out.

12-15. Four in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. One, which is 18 inches long, is made on a squared staff of box-wood, has a handle, and is without date. The three others are small ones, also of squared box-wood, and are of that kind mentioned by Plot to carry in the pocket. The largest is but 6 inches in length, the shortest 5 only.

It is deserving of note that the most famous, and perhaps most beautiful Staffordshire Clogg, that which is engraved by Plot in his tab. xxxv. and has been so often copied in this country, and even abroad, like the very remarkable ones engraved by Olaf Worm, is lost. This Clogg, although Plot in describing it employs the terms "the squared stick," was, I am persuaded, of brass, and was almost certainly that which was sent him by "the most ingenious *Charles Cotton* of *Beresford*, Esq." I consider it to be represented of the full size.

16. One in the Bodleian Library, which is made upon a squared block of wood, durable, heavy, and without grain, most likely of a fruit-tree. It is about 22 inches long, including the handle, which is round and a little more than 4 inches in length. The 1st of January is distinguished by a circle; there is no emblem for the 5th of November; and the 2nd of March is marked by the bough of a tree, the symbol of St. Chad.

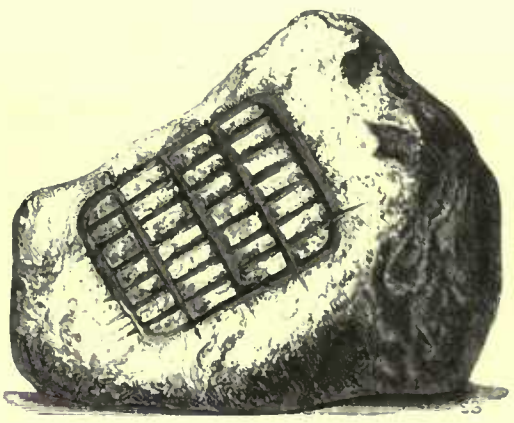
17. One in my own possession, which bears a date difficult to decipher. I read it 1653. This was purchased at the sale of the Bradbury Collection at Manchester, in 1865. It is a very large and fine example, carved on a squared block of oak. It is represented on Plate XXI., the diagram of the four faces being drawn to a scale half that of the original. The symbols upon it will be described presently.

back to the time at which Christianity was introduced into the North—about the 10th century—there is no reason to impute their origin to Christian times restrictedly. They were, no doubt, employed earlier, although earlier examples have not been preserved. But it is apparent that people of older periods and of different countries may—nay, probably must—have employed means for indicating the lapse of time and the recurrence of seasons somewhat similar; for none could be more simple and more likely to suggest itself than that of marking the days by notches on a staff of wood.[a]

It has been inferred that Runic Almanacs were used by the Danes soon after the epoch at which the Julian year was instituted, because they are arranged according to the solar year introduced by Julius Cæsar. On the oldest Runic

[a] Some such mode of recording the passage of time is, without doubt, used by the least civilized races of men. I was once told by a *Makooah*, whose name was "Tatooah," a Portuguese slave from the eastern side of South Africa, on the Mozambique Coast, that he remembered, when a boy in his father's hut, it was the custom of the family to make a knot upon a string hung up in the hut every morning when they arose, to distinguish the day and to mark its distance from the new moon, which is a season of great importance in the simple events of a Negro's life.

The rude piece of sandstone of pentagonal form, figured below, was found some years ago in an ancient British barrow in the North Riding of Yorkshire. By alluding to it in this place I do not for a moment intend to put the Ancient Britons on a level with the uncivilized Makooahs. Upon this stone a tolerably regular oblong square, or paralellogram, has been grooved; then six lines have been indented the long way of the quadrangle, so as to divide it into seven equal portions. Lastly, three transverse grooves have been engraved crossing the previous seven spaces, thus dividing the quadrangular surface into twenty-eight paralellogramatic elevations or spaces, each of about the same size. This carving might be supposed to be designed for an Ancient British Almanac, if we could perceive the way in which it was used. It has indeed been suggested that this pattern might have formed a mould for casting a bronze instrument with twenty-eight equal spaces in it. We know that the Ancient Britons had a Lunar Calendar which must have occupied much attention in the regulation of their festivals. (Crania Britannica, p. 115.) The sixth day of the new moon, "dies sexta Lunæ" (Pliny, lib. xvi. § 95), was a sacred day, from which they dated the commencement of their months, years, and *secula* of thirty years. It is not known that they divided their lunar month into four septenary periods or weeks; still, it is most likely that the later Britons would have learned this mode of dividing time from the Romans, who are said to have used it at the beginning of the third century. It cannot be regarded as at all probable that the Britons used no means to mark the days intervening between one new moon and another, and the inference that this carved stone had some connection with the lunar month is not improbable.



Primstaves known there appears the figure of a hatchet to mark the day of the martyrdom of Olaf, the King of Norway, who was beheaded in the year 1030 of the Christian era. These facts however do not limit the origin of such instruments.

Almanacs carved on staves of wood, &c. may thus be divided into two great sections: the more ancient, or the RUNIC CALENDARS, inscribed with Runes; and the less ancient, runeless calendars, or STAFFORDSHIRE CLOGG ALMANACS. Although these latter are, to a certain degree, appropriated to that county, it should be borne in mind that they are to be found in Denmark and Norway also, and that in reality they mark the period at which Runes ceased to be used.

I. The RUNIC CALENDARS, the *Primstaves* of the Norwegians, so named from the new moon, *prima luna*, or from the Prime, or Golden Number engraved on them; and *Rimstocks* by the Danes, from the Islandic and Anglo-Saxon word *Rim*, a calendar, and *Stock* a staff, or stick; are the original instruments invented by the Danes and other northern nations, and which followed in the track of those people wherever they went. Runic characters are said to have been the invention of Woden, and to have been employed by him not only for inscriptions, but also for magical enchantments, *fatales Runæ*. Hence, when Christianity was introduced into the North, Runes were looked upon with horror as emblems of pagan superstition; and to this is to be attributed the loss of the ancient books, calendars, &c. wherever these letters were inscribed, which were extensively destroyed by the priests and the converts to the new faith. Still the Runic characters are regarded to be derived from the Greek and Roman ones, which have been changed into more linear and angular forms in order to meet the requirements of the sculptor in wood and stone, and to facilitate his labours. Since Runes were at that early period looked upon as having mysterious and magical powers, they became obnoxious to the early Christian priesthood, and their use was forbidden. In a later age they were employed in matters of a sacred character; and we know that they were extensively carved upon these calendars for Christian purposes, for which use their forms eminently fitted them.

The forms of the Runic Calendars, of which Worm mentions many, were exceedingly varied. They were mostly made of wood (*treen*), but far from exclusively so. Some were of horn or of bone. Worm figures and describes a singular one on bone; and some were inscribed on parchment. The wood itself differed in different examples. Many were of oak, some of box, some of pine, some of pear-tree, some of lime, &c. Many were constructed in the form of a

sword or sabre, or of a long staff or baton; all, emblems of power in the hands of priests and rulers. Some of these staves were of hexagonal form, but not tapering to a fine point, as they have been represented; more were rectangular; some prismatic staves. Others of these calendars were of tongue-shaped leaves united at one end by an iron pin riveted in, just in the shape and manner of a fan. Another series is formed of thin tablets of wood, each of which has two holes pierced through it, one near either extremity, so that two thongs may be passed through all the laminæ; and when these are tied the instrument closely resembles a modern book, and may be opened in the same manner to consult the inscriptions on the sides of each tablet or leaf.[a]

The size of the calendars varied vastly, for the boxwood tablets of one of the last-mentioned kind exhibited to the Society are scarcely five inches long by two inches wide, and about a sixth of an inch in thickness, so as to make an almanac convenient for the pocket. Two of the Primstaves in the Museum of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen, of which I have procured rubbings, are respectively four feet eight and a-half inches, and three feet eight inches long, and the instruments exhibited are quite as long. The fine enamelled staff, to which I shall have occasion to recur, is nearly as long as the first.

The contents of the almanacs, so to speak, in the inscriptions also differed in an endless manner. Some were more complete, others less so, according to the desires and tastes of their makers. And here is a point which should be understood, and which will help to explain some of the peculiarities noticed in the Runic Calendars, as well as in the Staffordshire Cloggs; for they were not *manufactured* in our modern sense of the word. They were in use long before the idea of manufacturing in that sense had been entertained. They were not exact copies of one another, as objects cast in moulds, or as impressions derived from a set of

[a] "From the very oldest times, the Northman had his own perpetual calendar, carved with runes and other marks, commonly upon a flat board, or upon a stick or staff. It was therefore usually called Runestaff or Primstaff, from the word *prim*, which means the same as what in Catholic Calendars is called the golden number. We sometimes find employed for this purpose thin slips or leaves of wood or bone, and more lately parchment-leaves which folded up like a book. Not seldom these marks were inscribed on weapons, tools, furniture, and ornaments—for instance on the lance-staff, axe-shaft, and slight boxes, &c." (Frithiofs Saga, translated by George Stephens, Stockholm, 1839.) In this translation is inserted a "description of Ingeborg's arm-ring," mentioned in the poem, by Bror Emil Hildebrand, now the Royal Antiquarian of Sweden, who gives a short account of Runic Calendars, with an engraving of a beautiful *design* made by his predecessor in office, Professor J. G. Liljegren, to show the probable form of a heathen Runestaff.

The Rose so brightly blooming there—
She hight was INGEBORG THE FAIR.

types are. But they were made by the hand, and the makers in general formed them each for his own use, according to his own skill and according to the idea of his own wants. It may also be safely concluded that at least some of them were made by those who could neither read nor write. They are, generally speaking, inventions intended to dispense with these arts, and to be used by those ignorant of them. The Calendar, however, preserved at Bologna has been produced by an accomplished artist. This is probably the finest and most complete example of a Runic Calendar that has come down to modern times, and is on that account the fittest to engage our particular attention. It has been illustrated so copiously and with so much pains and learning by Dr. Luigi Frati, the Conservator of the Museum to which it belongs, that his elaborate Memoir must remain one of the text-books of the subject.[a] The Calendar itself is composed of eight separate wooden tablets or laminæ engraved on both sides with a considerable number of *figures*, and with rows of Runes. It bears the date 1514, and is quite a work of art, having engraved upon it the name of its owner and also of the artist who wrought it. The two outer tablets form the boards or covers of the book, but they are both filled with carvings without and within, and the six others are devoted to the twelve months of the year, one month on each side of each tablet. The outside of the first board is adorned with a sculpture of eight figures, representing the descent from the Cross, with a beautiful border running round. Under this group is inscribed,

m.d.xiv. aue maria.

On the inside of this first tablet at the top appear the names of the person for whom it was made, and of the artist who engraved it. The reading of this inscription is not quite certain, but Dr. Frati deciphers the first to be Moise Anthoin Neporjet, and the latter Simon Vincent de Macone. Below these names is a paschal cycle in Runic characters. This is the *Annus Magnus*, which bears other names after its inventors, and is formed by the multiplication of the solar cycle, so called from *dies solis*, which is the revolution of twenty-eight years, and brings back the dominical letters to the same days of the month, with the lunar cycle of nineteen years, thus producing a period or cycle of 532 years. Since the Gregorian reformation of the calendar in 1582, the paschal cycle has become useless, therefore it does not appear upon the later almanacs. This table for determining the period of Easter is very neatly arranged in the spaces produced

[a] Di un Calendario Runico della Pontificia Università di Bologna. 1841. Quarto. Con tavole viii.

by nine horizontal lines and nineteen perpendicular ones crossing them at right angles, and is formed of Runic cyphers from 1 to 19. At the left-hand head of each row of cyphers is placed one of the first seven letters of the alphabet in Romano-Gothic characters, to indicate the days of the week; and below the table of cyphers are placed two rows of similar letters representing a solar cycle. This table is of incised characters, which are filled in with a blackish substance.[a]

The arrangement of the engravings on the six following tablets, each of which contains a month on each side, making twelve months, is this :—Three-fourths of the space at the upper part is devoted to the sculpture of a series of images of the principal saints of the church whose anniversaries fall during the month. These personages receive a copious illustration, the figures of each being given with accompanying symbols, and are represented in the most perfect manner in low relief, not in the abridged form of the Clogg Almanacs by the mere symbols alone. For instance, on March 7 is delineated St. Gertrude the Virgin, in her costume of Abbess of Nivella, and holding a prayer-book in her right hand, whilst a long-tailed rat is leaping up to her on each side, to indicate the temptation by the devil in the form of a rat, which some have related of her. On the 23rd of April, a day which may be of more interest to the Society, St. George is depicted as a Roman warrior on horseback slaying the winged dragon, not by thrusting his spear down its throat, but, in a still more efficient manner, by piercing it through the abdomen with his *hasta*, the blade of which, having penetrated the animal in a prone posture, has passed some distance out at its back. The whole of these figure illustrations, which amount to perhaps one hundred and fifty, are executed in an elaborate manner in the style of the period, and receive the most complete explanatory commentary from the learned author of the treatise now quoted.

Beneath these figures in relief is placed a row of Runic characters for the seven dominical letters for each day of the week, and so on from week to week throughout the year. These Runes do not correspond to the Roman dominical letters and not quite closely to the Runic alphabet of Olaus Wormius, according to the copy which Dr. Frati has placed at the bottom of his table i., to which he has added the powers of each letter in Roman capitals. Signor Frati at once saw that the first of these Dominical Runes ᚠ, Fé, indicating the first day of the week, which is here Monday, must be equivalent to A, and he properly regarded it as the representative of the Latin F, from its resembling the Rune for F in Worm's alphabet. The second ᚢ, Ur, he says perhaps corresponds to V. His words are

[a] It should be recollected that this calendar does not belong to a pure Rune district; and it may be regarded as in some measure transitional, standing between Runic and Gothic letters.

these:—"Ma non pare da tacere che le cifre runiche del nostro Calendario non rispondono alle lettere dominicali Latine; perocchè la prima cifra di questa serie cioè la ᚠ, invece di rispondere all'A, risponde al F dei Latini, come è manifesto dalla fig. 4 della tav. i. La seconda cioè la ᚢ, forse al V, e cosi dicasi delle altre. Ho detto forse, perchè alcune di queste (e ciò valga ancora per le 19 del ciclo solare, di cui queste sette fanno parte) sono conformate diversamente dalle vere lettere runiche." It is immediately apparent that the Runes for the dominical letters, which Dr. Frati regarded as strange upon the Bologna Calendar, appear again and in the same order upon the Danish Primstaff, figured in our plate, and upon all other Rune-inscribed Primstaves. Further inquiry shows that these are *true Norse or Scandinavian Runes*,[a] and that the seven characters in question are the seven first letters of the Runic alphabet. The peculiarity is this—that the Runic alphabet, which originally consisted of fifteen or sixteen letters, has not the same order of letters that prevails in others. The first seven letters are not A, B, C, D, E, F, G, but ᚠ Fé, ᚢ Ur, ᚦ Thurs or Thorn, ᚨ Os, ᚱ Reid, ᚲ Kaun, ᚷ Hagl; corresponding to our F, U, TH, O, R, K, H. These letters were employed, like those of the Greeks, as well for the signs of numbers as of letters, ᚠ 1, ᚢ 2, ᚦ 3, ᚨ 4, ᚱ 5, ᚲ 6, ᚷ 7. The difficulty is thus entirely removed, and the reason for the employment of these Runic characters for the Dominical Letters explained. It is not the Alphabet but the Futhork which is employed for this purpose.

There is one singularity that perhaps may be named in this beautiful Runic Calendar which has not attracted the attention of Signor Frati, although in a former part of his work (p. 11) he tells us the Danes consecrated the first day of week to the Sun, as the greatest of the gods, and called it Sunday. This singularity may be noticed here, although somewhat interrupting the explanation of the Bologna Almanac. It is this, that the dominical letters are so arranged as to begin the year and also the week with Monday. ᚠ Fé is appropriated to Monday, ᚢ Ur to Tuesday, ᚦ Thurs to Wednesday, ᚨ Os to Thursday, ᚱ Reid to Friday, ᚲ Kaun to Saturday, and ᚷ Hagl to Sunday, apparently making Sunday the seventh day of the week. In all the Staffordshire Clogg Almanacs that I am acquainted with, the year and week are made to commence with the Lord's day, or Sunday. When it is recollected that all these instruments are really perpetual almanacs, in which the days of the week change from day to day every year, it is seen that it is of no importance by which letter the year or the week is made to commence upon the almanac. In fact the same

[a] There is no instance known of a Runic Calendar inscribed with Anglo-Saxon Runes.

Rune represented different days in different years, and even in the same year when leap year. In the figure of a Runic Almanac used in the isle of Ösel, which belongs to Sweden, and is in the Baltic, on the coast of Esthonia, the weeks are made to begin with Monday and to end with Sunday. This example is a small Lunar Calendar of thirteen four-week months, consisting of twenty-eight days each. The runes for the dominical letters are so arranged that each month and each week begins with ᚠ, Fé, for Monday, and ends with ᚼ, Hagl, for Sunday.[a] Such is also the case with my enamelled Runic Primstaff and in many others, the week always beginning with Monday. But in other examples, as the two of which I have impressions from Copenhagen, the year and the week commence with Sunday, although the seventh letter of the alphabet is still appropriated to it. Hence it may be concluded that ᚼ, Hagl, which is formed by a figure of the radiant sun upon a notch or staff, although the seventh letter of the alphabet, had become in some way associated with Sunday; some making their calendars to begin with it, whilst others made them to begin with ᚠ, Fé, the first letter of the Runic alphabet. Even in the case of the Danish example which has the days marked by notches merely, every week is made to commence with ᚼ, Hagl. Wolff, a writer who will be referred to shortly, errs in saying that the division of the week always commences with ᚼ, Hagl. The year, and therefore week, is made to begin with ᚠ, Fé, in his own Runic Calendar.

To recur to the description of the Runic Calendar at Bologna. Many of the Runes of the first row on the tablets are distinguished by being preceded by a short horizontal line or notch. This is regarded by Dr. Frati to indicate the days

[a] This calendar is engraved in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1812. Supp. lxxxii. Part i. p. 625. It has a number of "mark-days," distinguished by crosses and various other symbols. The communication upon this small Runic Almanac is introduced by a quotation from a work entitled a "View of the Russian Empire during the Reign of Catherine the Second, and to the close of the Eighteenth Century." The author of this book was William Tooke, F.R.S. "The boors of Asel make a calendar for themselves. For this purpose, as they cannot write, they have from time immemorial made choice of certain signs, which they mark in an artless manner on seven narrow flat sticks tied together by a thong passed through a hole at the upper end of each. More properly the inscription is on thirteen sides; on each side is a month consisting of 28 days. By this calendar they know at once every week-day, every immoveable festival, and every day that is memorable among them by any superstitious rites, for each has its own peculiar sign." (Vol. i. p. 181.) The writer then adds that the islanders adopt the practice of the Hebrews, by beginning their books where we end them, and read from right to left. In fact, the Runes on the example figured in the magazine are of the retrograde type which will subsequently be noticed, though corrupt in some of the forms. The correspondent who communicated this quotation mentions an interesting fact, that these Runic Calendars, engraved upon slender leaves of wood, were at that period used in the neighbouring isles of Runö and Maon, and they still continue to be used in remote provinces.

of bad augury. If so, the commencement of January seems to have been an evil time, for all the first seven days have the warning notch. In the Danish example I have mentioned the dominical signs are devoid of these lines.

In the Bologna Calendar there are no less than three separate rows of Runic figures or cyphers, standing below that row which represents the dominical letters. The first has the nineteen cyphers of the lunar cycle or golden number, arranged according to a certain order throughout the year, for the finding of the new moons; and the second is subservient to the same purpose. The third and lowest series, composed of the same nineteen Runic numbers, Dr. Frati was not able to explain, but it seems probable that it also has some application to the lunar cycle.

The last of the tablets of this fine Runic Calendar is filled on one side with a sculpture representing Christ, the Twelve Apostles, and the Virgin; and, on the other, with three rows of Runic characters, with a scroll ornament, an inscription, and a number of symbols. The first row of Runes is a series of nineteen figures of the lunar cycle, placed in the order of sequence, from one to nineteen; and the two others present the solar cycle in Runic letters, the duplicates for the bissextile years being placed above the others. The inscription is in Romano-Gothic characters, and is the usual invocation of the artist, expressive of his gratitude at the completion of his work. It is in four lines, which read from left to right, beginning with the fourth or bottom line, and ending with the first or top line :—

en.
sti tu micerere mei am
u xpi qui me forma
Corpus dni nri iec

That is, *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui me formasti, tu miserere mei. Amen.*

The twelve emblems are arranged in two lines, so as again to commence with the lower line, but at the right-hand extremity. They signify the twelve principal feasts of the year, some moveable and others not moveable, one of which falls in each successive month.

It would be easy to dwell much longer on this beautiful Runic Calendar, which is the finest and most elaborate that has come to my knowledge.[a] Its learned commentator refers it with much confidence to Gallia Belgica Secunda, or Belgium,

[a] Olaf Worm gives a wood-cut of another beautiful example of a small Runic Calendar in this book form. It was made on nine square leaves of box, and adorned with fine figures, just like that at Bologna.

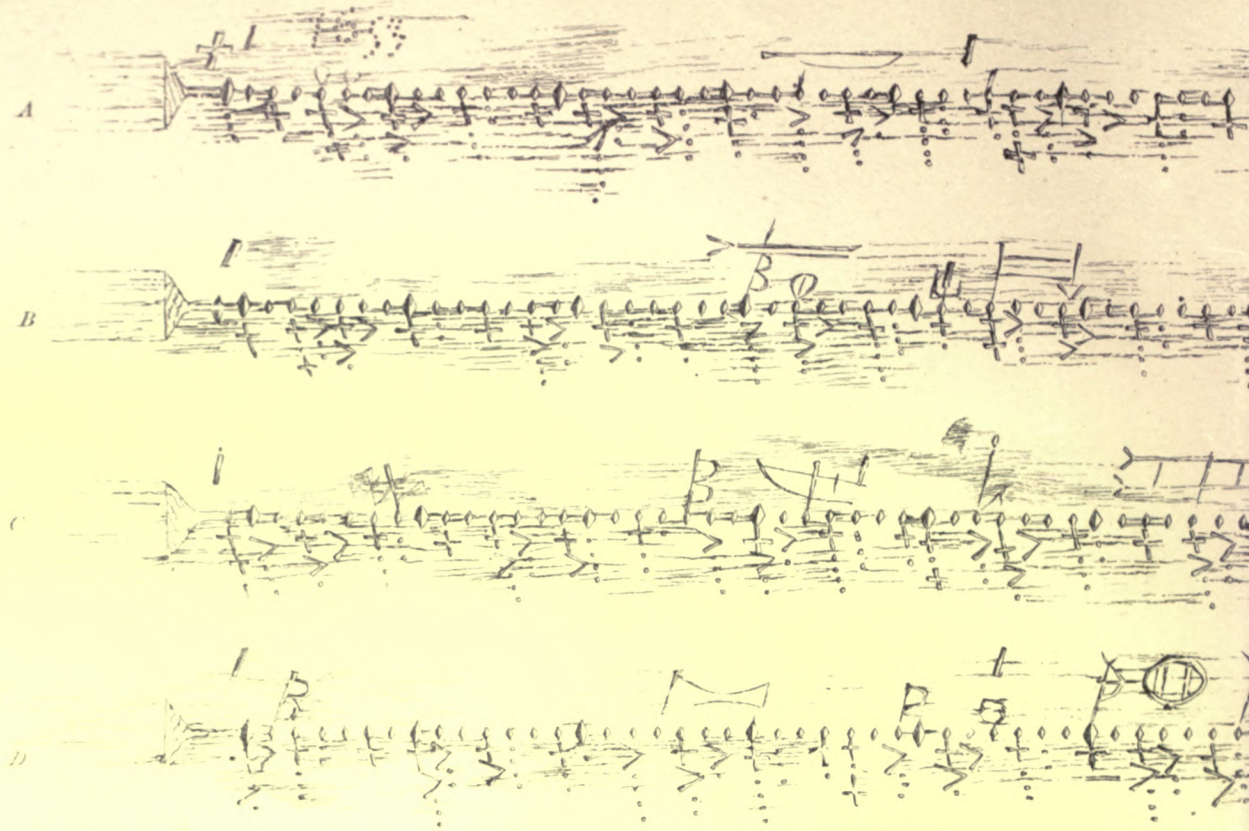
and thinks it most likely to have belonged to the diocese of Rheims. This would appear like an anomaly to find a Runic Calendar out of the proper field of their origin, the Scandinavian North. It has been conjectured that the almanac might have had some connection with Christian II. King of Denmark, who had a family alliance with Charles V, and who retired to the Low Countries after he was deposed, about A.D. 1521. But the date of the almanac is a little too early for this. The conclusion of Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, the very eminent Runic scholar, for which I am indebted to the great courtesy of that gentleman, solves the difficulty. It is that this calendar is derived from the Normans of Normandy, just in the same manner as our English ones from the Danes. This view is confirmed by the discovery of another example, of about the beginning of the 16th century, at Paris, by the late Councillor Thomsen. It should not be overlooked that the diocese of Rheims adjoined Normandy, which agrees with Signor Frati's view, for the saints of the diocese could not be strange to that country. The attribution of the Bologna Calendar, directly or indirectly, to the Normans gives further confirmation to the opinion that Runic Almanacs owe their origin to the Scandinavians, both in England and wherever found; and that their lineal descendants, the Staffordshire Cloggs, are from the same source.

A remarkable and almost unique Runic Primstaff has recently fallen into my hands which must be mentioned here, but which ought rather to form the subject of a separate communication at a future time. It is one of those made in the form of a walking-stick, and referred to by Olaus Magnus as used by the Swedes, "significantly termed *Baculi annales*, with which the *Laics*, being sustained in their long journeys to *Church*, at their weekly congress did usually debate and conclude from them the *Lunar conjunctions* and *oppositions*, and thence the moveable feasts." It contains six months on either side, each being separated from the other by a little star-like ornament. The 1st of January is the Rune ᚠ, Fé, for Monday, which is surmounted by a small cross to indicate the commencement of the year. Below the row of well-executed Runes, for the dominical letters, is another row of Runic cyphers, for the golden numbers. And above the dominical letters there is a considerable number of symbols painted in brilliant colours, which brings this Runic Calendar, in point of execution, the nearest of any to the Bologna one. The symbols refer to the feast days of the saints, and many of them to the seasons. On the 25th of April there is a little bird singing on the branch of a tree; on the 9th of June an angler seated upon the ground plying his art; in the middle of July a scythe indicative of haytime, and a few

days later a rake, with a cluster of stars above it, pointing to the sunny days;* at Martinmas a goose; and Christmas is fully proclaimed by a series of cornucopias and other signs. The letters for the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th of December are each marked with a cross at the top. The first cornucopia is placed on the 21st, St. Thomas's day, the time for brewing the Christmas ale. Five others succeed; the first of these being preceded by an infant Christ wearing a glory. New year's day has two cornucopias, one across the other, to mark its festivities; the 6th of January a single one, and on the 13th the horn of plenty is reversed, to show the conclusion of the feast. The symbols bearing reference to the saints and martyrs are singular and numerous, and are placed over the days of their respective festivals in the usual manner. At the lower extremity of the staff on one side the signs of the Zodiac are painted in bright colours with twelve Runes placed under them; on the other side the solar cycle and the bissextiles in Runes. This peculiarly fine Runic Calendar is enamelled on copper, and bears no date or initials, but appears to have been enamelled in China, as the handle of the staff is decorated with a brilliant pattern in enamel having the character of Chinese work. Its late owner, Joseph Marryat, Esq., thought it probably of old Dresden manufacture, and the previous possessor considered it of Persian origin. Mr. Franks regards its date to be anterior to the year 1700. It is tolerably certain that it was enamelled in China from a Scandinavian original. When the Swedish East India Company was important there, they had a director resident in China, who had many things made by Chinese artists from Scandinavian originals. The same was the case also with the director of the Danish East India Company.

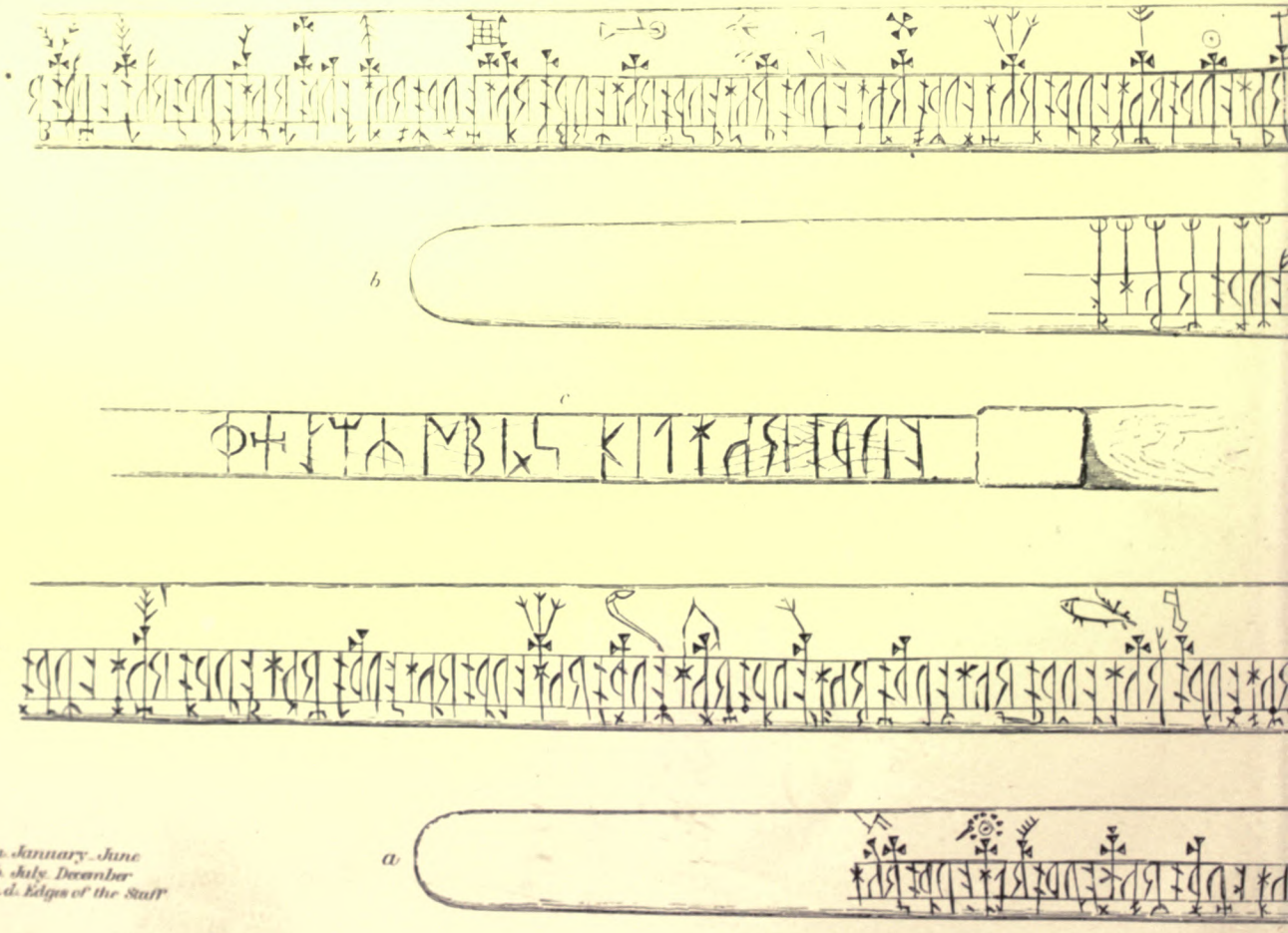
Of the three other examples of Runic Primstaves, exhibited at the reading of this Paper, two belong to Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.R.S. Local Secretary for Lancashire, and the third to St. John's College, Cambridge; this last is in the form of a sabre, with ornamental carving on the handle. It bears some dates. On one side 1667, on the other, upon which the calendar begins, 1672 and 1688-89. Of the two fine specimens from Mr. Mayer's collection, neither of which are dated, one is a hexagonal Primstaff, with interlaced carving on the pommel; the other, which appears in Plate XXI., is square with flat sides, and bears the former owner's initials.

* Upon the Staffordshire Cloggs the place for the rake, emblematic of haytime, is earlier, namely, on the 11th of June, as is very conspicuous upon the large Clogg of the British Museum; which shows that this enamelled Runic Calendar was fitted for a more northern clime, in fact, that it is a Scandinavian example.



CLOGG

A Janʸ. March. B April.

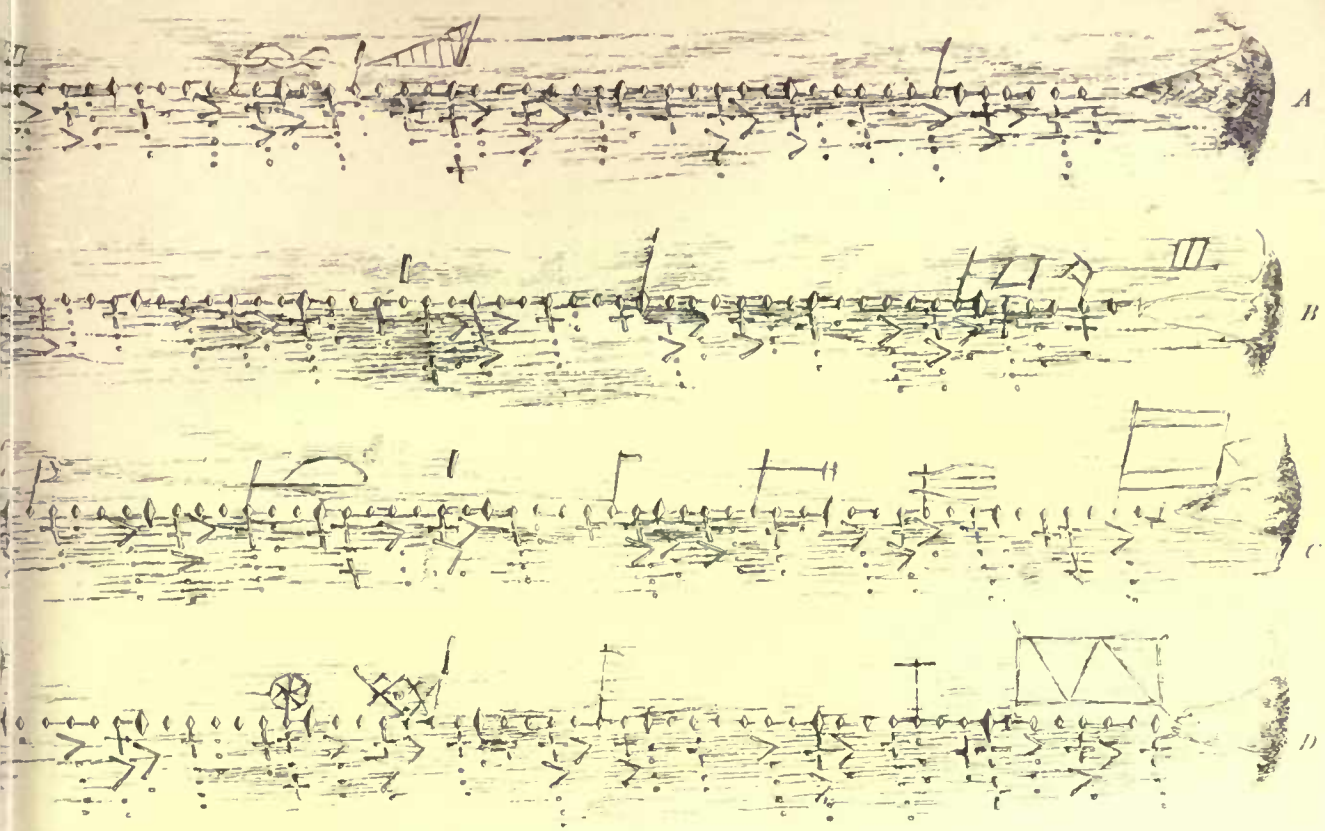


a. January. June
b. July. December
c.d. Edges of the Staff

RUNIC

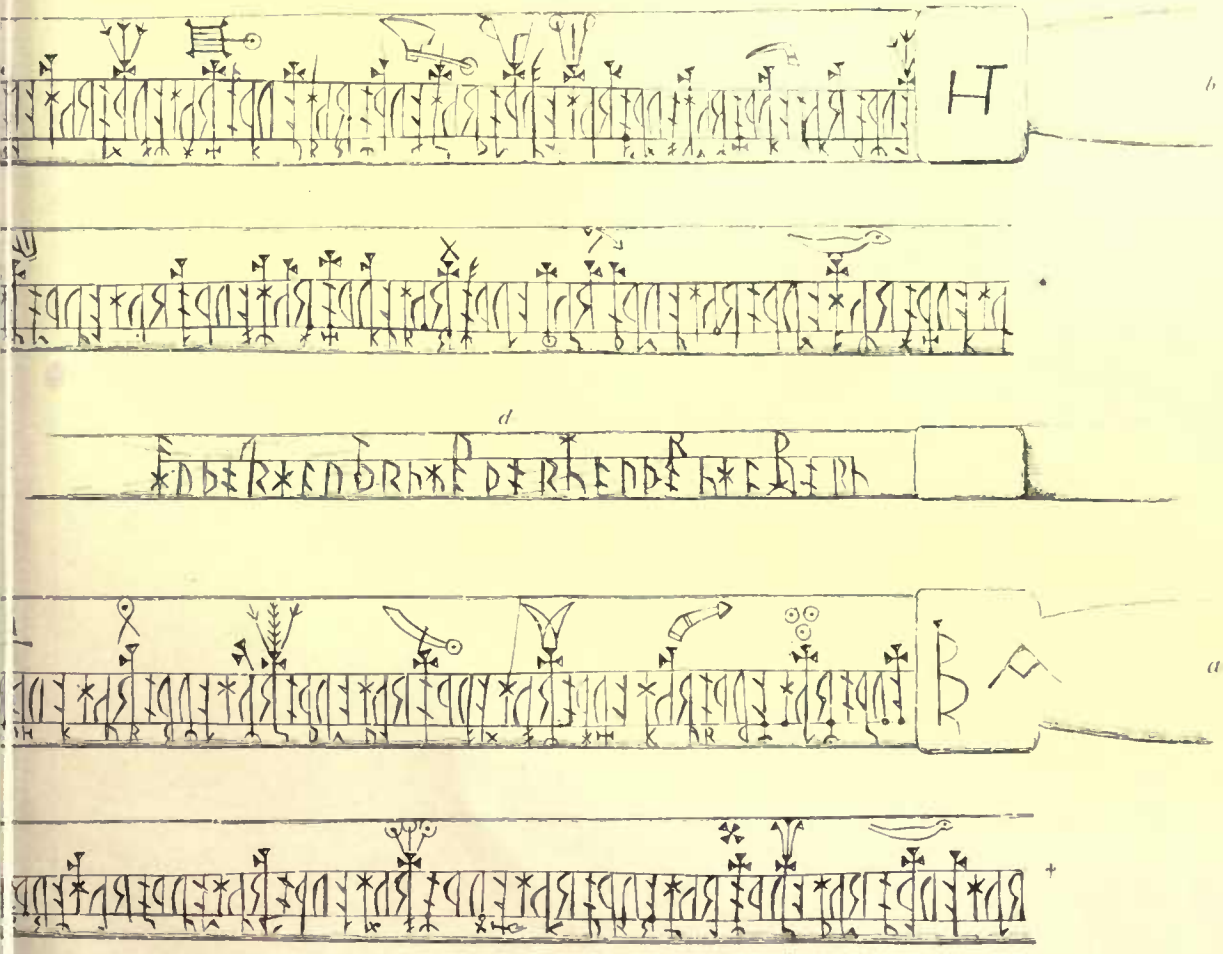
Kell Brothers Lith. London.

Published by the Society of



LMANAC.

C July. Sept.r D Oct.r Dec.r



IMSTAFF.

In the great Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen there are about twenty of these Runic Primstaves, impressions from three of which I have procured by the great politeness of Captain A. P. Madsen, the distinguished Danish Antiquary. The first is one of those to which the name Primstaff is most appropriate; it is formed of a long flat piece of wood, 4ft. 8in. or 56in. in length, and nearly an inch in thickness. It has a long handle, like the hilt of a sword, and is covered with Runic characters on both sides, with some symbols, a few of which also occur on the edges. The Runes on each side are in this way made to refer to the two halves of the year. The handle or hilt of the sword, like the rest of the Primstaff, is covered with Runes on both sides, which Runes are read not as in the case of the Staffordshire Cloggs, but by holding the instrument in the right hand. Those on one side of the handle, consisting of nineteen characters, represent the Golden Number running from one to nineteen. The Runes on the opposite side of the handle are more numerous; they are twenty-eight in number, and refer to the solar cycle, which was employed to find the dominical letter of each year.

The cyphers employed here and in the Primstaff next described (see Plate XXI.) do not quite agree either in form or sequence, beyond the first seven or eight letters, with the usual Runic Futhorc Alphabets. Professor Stephens, however, in his learned and laborious work on "The Old Northern Runic Monuments," in course of publication, has preserved (Part I. p. 104) a Scandinavian Futhorc of nineteen letters carved on the stone font (probably of the twelfth century) of the church at Börse, Sealand, Denmark. This tallies very nearly with the Primstaff series of numeral letters, the main difference being that, while the letters found on the font read from left to right, the Primstaff characters are mostly inverted and read from right to left. The correspondence between the two will be plain, on comparing the nineteen Golden Number Runes in our plate with the following facsimile of the font inscription, which is given from Professor Stephens' book, together with the powers which he there assigns to each letter:

ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ ᚬ ᚱ ᚴ ᚼ ᚴ ᛁ ᛅ ᛋ ᛏ ᛒ ᛚ ᛘ ᛦ ᛑ ᚵ ᛖ

F U þ O R K H N I A S T B L M Œ D G E

The central rows of large Runic characters on each side are, as already mentioned, devoted to the dominical letters; and the row of figures in Runes above them represents the lunar cycle. The letters are the same as those on the Bologna Calendar, and are northern Runes. Although the symbols indicating

the principal feasts of the year are chiefly limited to crosses, this example must be regarded as a fine Primstaff.

Mr. Mayer's Primstaff is extremely like that last described. The arrangement of the two flat sides, with the dominical letters in the central row, the lunar cycle below, and the mark days above, is the same in both calendars. The series of Runes for the nineteen golden numbers and those relating to the solar cycle are placed on the edges instead of on the handle of the staff. (Plate XXI. gives them in juxta-position.) The Runes read from right to left both in this and in the Copenhagen example, and correspond in figure very nearly to the Wend-Runes (retrograde Runes), given by Professor Stephens (Part I. p. 99); the first seven letters of which series, with their powers, are here copied from his work.

ᚷ ᚳ ᚱ ᚪ ᚦ ᚢ ᚠ

G C R Æ þ U F

Each of the sides is appropriated to six months of the year, divided thus: January 1 to July 1, inclusive; July 2 to December 31, inclusive. The insertion of the 1st day of July at the end of the first half-year would seem to be with the view of recommencing the series of Sunday letters on the second side of the staff with the ᚠ, the first letter of the Futhorc, which begins the year on the first side.[a]

The principal symbols of the mark days are as follows:—

January 1. Circumcision.—A cross marks this and the other ordinary festivals, most of which can easily be identified on reference to an ordinary calendar.

January 6. Three circles or crowns for the Three Kings.

January 13. St. Hilary.—The inverted horn signifies the end of Christmas, as on the enamelled Primstaff.

January 25. Conversion of St. Paul.—A sword.

February 2. Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.—This and all feasts of the Blessed Virgin, as Annunciation, March 25; Visitation, July 2; Assumption, August 15; and Nativity, September 8; are marked by a triple branching device, probably meant for a lily.

February 22. Cathedra Sancti Petri.—A key.

February 24. St. Mathias.—The fish may refer to the commencement of the fishing season.

[a] By an inadvertence, the January-July side of the staff has been represented in plate XXI. beneath the July-January side. The former side is indicated by the capital A carved on it.

April 14. St. Tiburtius and Valerianus.—The northern name for this day, according to Professor Munch, in the Popular Calendar cited presently, is Sommers Dag. The symbol, as here, a leafy bush.

April 25. St. Mark.—The bird-like figure may possibly refer to the dragon carried in the procession of the Litania Major on this day. See Hampson "Medii Ævi Kalendarium," vol. i. under St. Mark.

May 1. St. Philip and St. James.—A tree.

May 3. Holy Cross Day.—A cross.

May 18. In the Ösel Calendar, referred to above, this day is marked by an ear of barley, and the explanation given is "Now Barley sprouts." The present symbol might be an ear of corn.

June 24. St. John the Baptist.—A sun.

July 22. St. Mary Magdalene.—Symbol doubtful.

July 25. St. James.—Symbol doubtful.

August 10. St. Lawrence.—A gridiron.

September 14. Exaltation of the Holy Cross.—A cross.

September 21. St. Matthew.—The stag had probably some allusion to the hunting season.

September 29. St. Michael.—Possibly the trumpet of the Archangel.

October 7. Quære.

October 14. St. Calixtus; called by Munch "Winternight."—A pine tree.

October 18. St. Luke.—A double cross.

October 22. The Eleven Thousand Virgins.—Symbol doubtful.

October 28. St. Simon and St. Jude.—A branch.

November 11. St. Martin.—The goose, eaten on his day.

November 23. St. Clement.—An anchor.

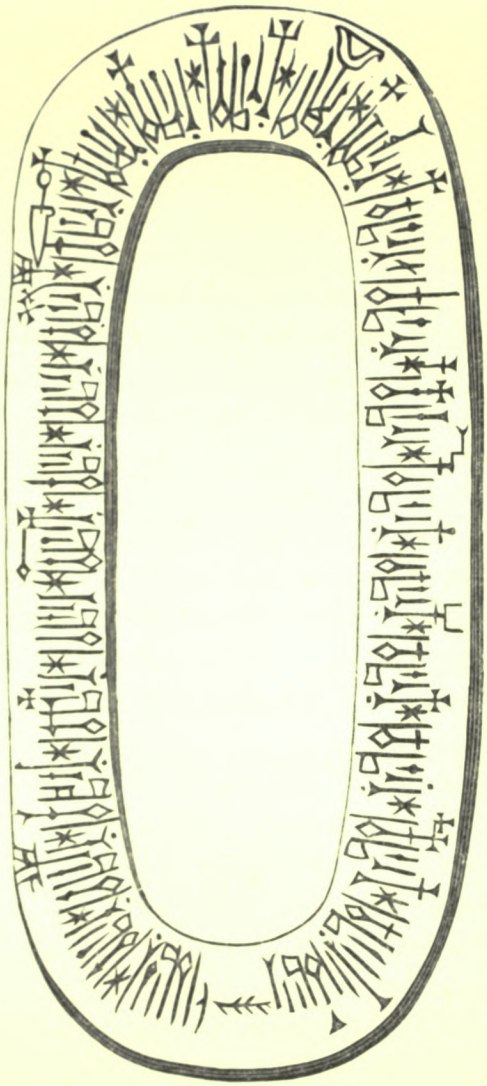
November 30. St. Andrew.—The cross of his martyrdom.

December 21. St. Thomas.—Symbol resembling a hand.

The Christmas feasts are all marked alike with a semicircle on a straight stroke.

The second impression of a Primstaff, in the Copenhagen Museum, about a foot shorter, is of a simpler kind, and differs from the former in having its long central marks for the days of the year reduced to straight notches, save the Sundays, which are indicated by the letter ✱, Hagl.[a]

[a] There is an engraving of a portion of a Runic Calendar in the Archæologia, vol. I. p. 183, appended to Mr. Samuel Gale's Dissertation upon the Horn of Ulphus, preserved in York Minster. It presents the Runes of the days from the 20th of December to the 14th of January. From the 21st of December, or St. Thomas's day, to the 6th of January, or Twelfth day, they are marked by horns standing upright,



Another variation occurs in the form of these instruments, which, in truth, takes them out of the category of staves altogether, for they are reduced to flat oval rings of wood, upon the two sides of which the winter (for the year began with winter) and the summer months appear; the notches for the days are placed in regular order, together with the symbols for the "mark-days." The woodcut is taken from a rubbing of one side of one of these oval "Messedag" Almanacs in the Copenhagen Collection. It simply marks the days of the half-year by notches, to which are added hatchets, as indicative of martyrdom, crosses, and a few other symbols to point out the saints, to which particular days are dedicated, or the "mark-days."[b]

II. At this point it must be remarked that we have insensibly glided into the second kind of wooden calendars, for the Messedag Staves, or carved rings of wood referred to, are not furnished with any Runic characters. We have passed the period of Runic Calendars, and reached that of CLOGG ALMANACS, or runeless calendars, both of which should be kept clearly distinct. It may be satisfactorily concluded that the former, both

Christmas day being distinguished by two, one inclining each way, to indicate the great festivities of the day. And on the 13th of January the horn is reversed, unequivocally signifying the finishing of the Christmas ale. St. Thomas's day is sometimes marked upon the Cloggs with the emblem of a barrel, to denote the brewing of the Yule ale, and Twelfth day is at times equally expressively indicated by an empty barrel.

[b] The name of "mark-days" appears to have been first attached to certain days of the year indicative of the seasons, or the coming state of the weather, and the signs of the prosperity of the year, before they were appropriated to the Christian saints, which, in fact, was an adaptation or accommodation of the priests. According to ancient laws of the church these were obliged to "cut out staves," that is, to send out through their districts staves of message, in the shape of crosses, in good time previously to every festival, and they were responsible for its due notification. An old Norwegian law propounds, "if any feast be wrongly

in Scandinavia and in England, are much the older of the two; and that the runeless calendars, in both countries, also are their more modern successors. The annular or collar-shaped form is only one of the numerous shapes they have assumed. In the Copenhagen Museum there is an almanack of this kind, without Runes, which is merely a circular disc of wood, with the notches for the days cut all round the outer edge. It would be an error to suppose that the period of transition from one kind of calendar to the other was clearly defined, either in one country or the other. We have already mentioned a Runic Calendar, probably of English origin, bearing the date 1667, and have seen a fine one belonging to the Museum of National Antiquities of Sweden, dated 1636, another dated 1680, and a third with the date 1714; the date of the Bologna example is 1514. The oldest dated Clogg Almanac which has come to my knowledge is marked 1589; my own is, I believe, 1653; that in the Bateman Museum, 1626; and the date of Plot's "Natural History of Staffordshire," when they were still in use, is 1686. We cannot procure more definite data for fixing the transition from one kind of instrument to the other than these. And from these we are only able to say that the principal period of transition was the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In England both kinds of instruments are now wholly extinct for almanac purposes; but this is probably not the case in

notified, the priest shall either run or ride in the direction of the messenger and try to overtake or stop him, so that people do not eat or work at a prohibited time."

Another Messedag Staff, of exactly the same oval ring-like form, a Norwegian example, is delineated on both sides in a little Norwegian Almanac for 1848 (Norsk Folke-Kalender for 1848. Christiania). This publication, which is similar to the English "Companion to the Almanac," contains valuable essays upon almanac subjects by eminent men. The figures alluded to are given in illustration of an excellent communication, entitled "Om vore Forfædres ældste Tidsregning, Primstaven og Mærkedagene," or "Upon our forefathers' oldest mode of reckoning time, Primstaves and Mark-days," written by the late Professor P. A. Munch. This latter Messedag Almanac bears a date on the winter side in Arabic numerals, 1651, and, on the other side, the initials of the owner B. H. S. Besides which, on the outer edge of the ring of wood, there is an inscription to this effect: "Here may we learn the season of the year and the Roman holy-days, their name and time of year."

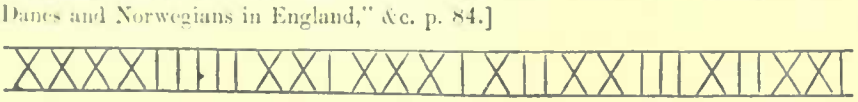
There is a good deal of illustration of Runic Calendars in J. G. Liljegren's Run-Lära (Stockholm, 1832), in the xiith Section, p 194, with figures given in Pl. viii.

[Since this paper was read the Paris Exhibition of 1867 has taken place. In the department devoted to the "Histoire du Travail," there were exhibited above a dozen Primstaves or Runic Calendars, from both Stockholm and Copenhagen. The dates upon these Runic Calendars ranged between 1636 and 1714. One of these, of which Mr. Franks procured rubbings, is deserving of notice, as furnishing a new intermediate type. It is a wooden ring almanack of large size, being twenty-three inches long by five inches across at the widest part of the oval. It is carved both with Runes for the days of the week and the usual symbols for the mark-days.]

Scandinavia, where the runeless ones are most likely still in use in some remote districts, if the Runic Calendars themselves should have wholly ceased to be used.*

The earliest and best account of Clogg Almanacs is that given by Dr. Robert Plot, as above-stated, in his "Natural History of Staffordshire." It commences in a manner quite characteristic of that writer's style. He says: "First as to the divers *names* of them, they are here called *Cloggs*, for what reason I could not learn, nor indeed imagine, unless from the *English Logg* (a *term* we usually give any piece of wood), or from the likeness of some of the greater sorts of them to the *Cloggs*, wherewith we usually restrain the wild, extravagant, mischievous notions of some of our *doggs*."—p. 419. Plot speaks of examples of these perpetual almanacs made of brass, and particularizes one of this kind as sent him "by the most ingenious *Charles Colton*, of *Beresford*, Esq.," the poet, associated with Walton, in "The Compleat Angler." Plot, as already mentioned, gives an

* There is a little work which bears reference to Runic Calendars, in which mention is made of the daily and ordinary employment of one of these instruments by a Norwegian farmer during this century. Mr. Wolff, the author, says, "Un de mes amis en Norwège m'assura qu'il rencontra un jour un fermier dans le Gulbrandsdahl, ou vallée de Guldbrand, qui faisait régulièrement usage d'un de ces calendriers pour ses occupations journalières, et quoiqu'il eût un almanach chez lui, il donna la préférence à son vieux Rimstok qu'il connaissait depuis long-tems presque par cœur, ainsi que les lettres runiques." (Runakefli, Le Runic Rimstok, ou Calendrier Runique, &c. Par Jens Wolff. Paris, 1820. p. 37.) That portion of this little volume, which refers to the Runic Calendars, contains two large engravings of the two sides of a Rimstock which was presented to the author at Trondheim, on the other side of the Dovrefield, by a friend who had a collection of antiquities. This Runakefli (in Islandic, *baculus literis inscriptus*, *clavis runicus*) receives full illustration from Mr. Wolff. Besides the succession of rows of Runes and symbols running through each half-year, the calendar presents an oblong compartment, which Mr. Wolff entitles "Signes du Zodiaque." This contains four lines of Runes, zodaical symbols, &c. for each half-year. But below these there is a line of characters unnoticed and unexplained by Mr. Wolff, which has nothing to do with the zodiac. It is occasionally seen upon Runic Calendars, and presents our Scandinavian predecessors in a very pleasing light. It consists of a series of crosses and upright lines, arranged in a particular order for a game, which has been named after St. Peter, in Swedish "Sankt Päders Lek." Those who have spent their early youth in one of the Danish districts of England, as in the neighbourhood of York, do not need to be told what *laking* is (to lake, to play. *Leka*, Sw. *Lacan*, A.-S. ludere). [See Worsaae's "Danes and Norwegians in England," &c. p. 84.]



The story is that St. Peter, when at sea, was in such danger of being shipwrecked from a storm, that it became necessary to throw a part of the passengers and crew overboard, in order to lighten the ship, and save the lives of the rest. There were thirty persons in the whole, one half Christians and the other half Jews. St. Peter, with the object of saving the former, arranged the whole in a row so cleverly, that, by taking every ninth man, all the Christians, distinguished by crosses, were saved, and the Jews alone drowned.

excellent figure of the four sides of a family Clogg, and speaks of others in the museum at Oxford. His figure, which has been so repeatedly copied, should not be misunderstood. It represents the four angles of the square Clogg, as Plot says, *in plano*, *i.e.* all seen at one view. I believe it is the picture of the brass Clogg given him by Cotton.

Dr. Plot maintains a high character for our Clogg Almanacs over the Runic Calendars, for, when speaking of the change of the dominical letters, by reason of the years receding on the days of the week as they revolve—in other terms, each succeeding year beginning on the next day of the week, and so altering the dominical letters—he says, "*Our ancestors*, I suppose, did not think it worth while to inscribe such *moveable Characters* (*i.e.* the dominical letters) at all upon their Cloggs or almanacks (the knowledge of the *Cycle* of the *Sun* too being but of little use to them), but rather to commit such an easy observation as the removal of *Sunday*, or any other day, one or two days backward, to the care of their *memories*."—p. 421. And, again, when he treats of the mode of indicating the golden number, or cycle of the moon, on our Cloggs by means of Roman numerals, he adds, "they have a more rational orderly texture than the *Runæ* upon the *Danish Rimestocks*, or the *Swedish* or *Norwegian Primstaves* . . . . than which (I say) the *Symbols* set on our Cloggs have a more rational texture."—p. 423.

In this way is seen the simplification of the Clogg, when compared with the Runic Almanac. The row of Runes for the dominical letter placed to every day of the year is left out entirely, and the golden numbers are modernised in the mode of their insertion. They have ceased to be Runic letters, having the power of numbers, and instead are expressed in Roman numerals; a change probably, after all, not much to be boasted of.[a] Dr. Plot enters at considerable length into the explanation of the numbers on the Clogg Almanacs. Recollecting that the golden number is a device for finding the new and full moons, arranged for the

[a] "The Rune-Staff has gradually undergone many changes, in consequence of attempts having been made partly to arrange it after the New Style, and partly to make it more accordant with modern reckonings. Its use was commonly known up to the commencement of the 16th Century, but was supplanted by degrees by the annual and therefore more convenient Almanacks. Notwithstanding this, familiarity with its signs was long regarded as so important, that King Karl XI. by a Royal Letter, dated July 5, 1684, issued at the request of the College of Antiquities, ordered that all such persons as exhibited the greatest skill in carving Rune-staves, and instructing the common people in their use, thus persuading them again to adopt them in general, should enjoy freedom from all payments or taxes to his Majesty and the Crown. They are now preserved as mere antiquarian curiosities, and, with the exception, perhaps, of some distant province where the peasantry may still be capable of understanding them, their explanation has fallen within the limits of antiquarian research."—Hildebrand, Frithiofs Saga, p. xlvi. This statement of a learned northern antiquary and polite gentleman agrees closely with what is written in the text.

determination of Easter, and that the Julian year does not consist of an exact number of lunations, as, in truth, neither is it formed of an exact number of days, much compromise was necessary to make these terms at all agree. First, the revolution of the sun, in which he returns to the same place in the Zodiac, is three hundred and sixty-five days and about six hours, that of the moon twenty-nine days and about twelve hours; so that the moon finishes twelve lunations in a Julian solar year, leaving eleven days over. The first device was to make the months alternately of thirty and twenty-nine days, so as to use up the regular half days of the lunations. In the Staffordshire Clogg now exhibited, the golden number 1 is attached to the 23rd of January, the 21st of February, or twenty-nine days after; the 23rd of March, or thirty days after; the 21st of April, or twenty-nine days after; and so on. The year 323 was that in which the Nicene Council settled the time for the observance of Easter now followed, when was adopted a cycle that had been fixed by the Alexandrian Christians two years before; hence, Plot judiciously concluded, it is that our Clogg Almanacs mark the first day of January as the third year of this lunar cycle. As Plot justly remarks, the symbols for the golden numbers set to the greater proportion of the days "are no such *hieroglyphical characters* confusedly placed, as they seem at first sight."—p. 123. On the contrary, they are placed by rule: "Every *following* number is made by adding eight to the *preceding*, and every *preceding* number by adding eleven to the *following* one." The reasons for this rule he afterwards gives, and devotes a considerable space to the elucidation of the entire subject, into which it will not be needful to follow him here.

As already mentioned, the instruments are to be used by holding them by the handle with the left hand horizontally, the days being marked by notches on the four edges of the Clogg, each edge holding three months, the Sundays being always distinguished: in the Runic Calendars by the letter , Hagl, which has somewhat the appearance of a radiant sun; in the Cloggs, by a deeper, a longer, or a double notch. The golden numbers pass off from the lower ends of the notches, so as to be read upon the next side of the square staff. The numbers from one to four, in the example before us, are formed by dots or depressions in the wood; 5 is represented by a V, and by the addition of dots is brought up to 9; 10 is expressed by an X, and so on until we come to 19, the highest number of the series, which is represented by two X's, one above another, with a dot intervening between them, to show that one must be deducted. In the beautiful Clogg engraved by Plot, and in Gough's example, this 19 is represented not so correctly, but simply by a double patulous cross. Indeed, the differences in

different Cloggs are frequent, and sometimes indicate the carelessness of the makers. In the Lichfield example, the 1st of April is placed at the end of the first quarter of the year, instead of at the beginning of the second; and the third quarter, July, August, and September, has ninety-one days, instead of ninety-two.[a] In the Clogg now before us, the commencement of the year is marked by a small rectangular cross with arms of equal length, and over the first day of every month is placed a short deep groove or depression on the upper side of the staff; upon the handle and side for the commencement of the year the initials of the owner and the date (probably 1653) are marked by little dots in the wood. In the Lichfield specimen the depression for the beginning of every month is replaced by a small cross patée. In Plot's example the first day of each month is distinguished by a little patulous dash turned to the left. In the one engraved by Gough the first of January is marked by a small circle, *in sese volvitur annus*. The Derbyshire specimen is remarkable for having the sign of the Zodiac introduced at the commencement of each month.

Lastly, we arrive at that portion of the arrangement upon the Staffordshire Cloggs which has usually attracted most attention, and obtained the first consideration. That is, the numerous symbols introduced to indicate to the eye the particular saints to whom the days have been dedicated. By means of these carvings, as already mentioned, the country in which the almanac was made may often be determined, because it contains the emblems of local saints. Probably in this place it may be well to run over the symbols upon my own oaken Clogg, Plate XXI., which has in some measure formed the chief basis of my observations, premising that the sculptures themselves are of different import. As Plot says, "some of them pointing out the *offices* or *endowments* of the Saints, before whose *festivals* they are put; others the manner of their *Martyrdoms;* and others only some eminent *action* or other *matter* some way relating to the *Saint*, or else the *work* or *Sport* in fashion about the time when the *feast* is kept."—p. 429.

January 6. The Epiphany. The Adoration of the Magi. The Baptism of Christ. The Miracle of the Conversion of Water into Wine.—A small circle, perhaps intended for a star or a crown, for the Three Kings of Cologne. (There is usually some room for fancy in the decypherment of these emblems, and also for choice in their appropriation.)

January 25. The Conversion of St. Paul.—A knife with a long blade on a line

[a] In the large British Museum specimen, the notches of the first quarter of the year end on the 25th of March, and those for the second quarter on the 24th of June. When we reach the third quarter the terminal notch is correct for the 30th of September. In the Cambridge example the quarters are equally irregular.

with the haft, either because he was said to have been beheaded with a sword, or because it was with this instrument that, before his conversion, he persecuted the Christians.

February 2. The Purification of the Virgin. Candlemas-day.—A long upright groove.

February 14. St. Valentine, Bishop and Martyr.—A letter with cross lines perhaps, probably indicative of the custom observed on the day.

February 24. St. Matthias, who was beheaded with a battle-axe.—The symbol is probably intended for a battle-axe.

March 1. St. David, said to have been uncle to King Arthur. The tutelar Saint of the Welsh.—From a confusion of Davids perhaps, a harp with six strings.

March 25. The Annunciation; or, Lady-day.—A long notch simply. The symbol is sometimes a heart.

April 23. St. George, probably of Cappadocia, the Patron Saint of England.—A large B, with a long sword above it, which seems to appertain rather to St. George, the military tribune who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.

April 25. St. Mark the Evangelist.—A small irregular circle with a groove running up the centre of it, possibly for a book.

May 1. A Stem with a line crossing it, from each end of which arises a branch.—The emblem of a tree, indicative of the season.

May 3. The Invention of the Holy Cross.—A large cross.

June 11. St. Barnabas the Apostle.—A long notch, perhaps to call attention to the saint, or to signify the commencement of hay time.

June 24. St. John the Baptist.—A large axe symbolic of his being beheaded.

June 29. St. Peter.—A key.

July 7. St. Thomas-à-Becket.—A figure resembling two V's interlaced.

July 20. St. Margaret.—A large B, or perhaps ℬ.

July 25. St. James.—A sword indicative of his martyrdom.

August 1. St. Peter ad Vincula, or St. Peter in Chains. Lammas.—A long notch.

August 10. St. Lawrence.—A gridiron.

August 15. The Assumption of the Virgin.—A mark resembling the letter P. A heart in Plot.

August 24. St. Bartholomew the Apostle.—A large knife to show the instrument with which he was flayed.

September 8. Nativity of the Virgin.—A long notch.

September 14. Exaltation of the Cross.—A fine double cross.

September 21. St. Matthew the Evangelist.—A singular symbol, probably representing a pair of balances, denoting the Equinox.

September 29. St. Michael the Archangel.—A pair of scales, a symbol for the day common upon Cloggs.

October 2. Feast of the Guardian Angels.—A large B.

October 18. St. Luke the Evangelist.—A figure like an hourglass, whether for a foot or a vase is doubtful.

October 28. St. Simon and St. Jude, Apostles.—A sign like the letter P.

November 1. All Saints.—A small irregular circle.

November 5. Not a Saint's day, but the commemoration of Gunpowder Plot, on which there was a religious service. On a notch ascending from the day is placed a tripod, upon which stands a barrel of gunpowder.

November 11. St. Martin.—A long notch, with a beak at the end of it, indicative of the Martinmas goose. The poverty of the symbols on the Cloggs, when compared with the figures on the fine Bologna Runic Almanac, though always striking, is in no instance more so than in this. The artist has there represented St. Martin seated upon a horse which is richly caparisoned, and adorned with a plume of feathers on his head. The saint wears a species of *pileus* upon his head, is clothed in a short embroidered coat and a mantle or cloak, which covers his right shoulder, but which he has dragged off the left, and holds in his left hand, in the act of cutting off a portion of it with his sword, to be dispensed to cover a naked lame mendicant standing by supported by a crutch, who seeks alms of him.

November 25. St. Catherine.—A wheel.

November 29. St. Andrew the Apostle.—Two St. Andrew's crosses.

December 8. Conception of the Virgin.—A long notch.

December 21. St. Thomas the Apostle.—A T.

December 25. Christmas Day.—A long paralellogram, with three lines running obliquely across it, most likely for the rack or manger.

The symbols upon this example are rather few; they amount to thirty-six only. Upon some other Cloggs they are more elaborately carved and more numerous. In that engraved by Plot they exceed sixty in number.

Probably enough has now been said to illustrate these curious instruments, which were of so much importance in the hands of our forefathers, who took such pains in the execution of these their diaries and calendars, and no doubt consulted them with great constancy. They have now, for a century or more, gone entirely out of use, and are only preserved as curiosities of a past age.

The proper classification of these ancient calendars will be — I. Runic Almanacs.—Of these the only ones preserved are written in northern Runes; and it may be strongly doubted whether they were ever inscribed with Anglo-

Saxon Runes. I know of no such example. Hence we are confirmed as to the Danish or Norse origin of these curious instruments. Whether these true Runic Calendars were always carved with emblems upon them is not quite certain. All those with which I have become acquainted have them. II. STAFFORDSHIRE CLOGGS.—These simpler runeless instruments present symbols, but not Runes. They may, in future, be properly denominated "Staffordshire Cloggs."

The object in view has been to bring the history and real nature of these interesting antiquities as plainly as possible before the Society—to point out the great changes they underwent, particularly to show the distinction between Runic Calendars and Staffordshire Cloggs, a distinction now for the first time brought out clearly; for the latter, as we have seen, are still called "Runic Almanacs," and yet do not exhibit a single Rune.[a] As one whom the Society of Antiquaries has honoured by appointing him Local Secretary for Staffordshire, I have endeavoured to contribute something on the antiquities of that county in which Providence has decreed that so large a portion of my life should be spent.

In conclusion, it remains to mention the names of those, not previously alluded to, who have aided me in the preparation of this Memoir by supplying me with specimens, or in other ways, to all of whom I desire to convey my sincere thanks. Professor George Stephens, who has afforded me valuable assistance, should occupy a conspicuous position. Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A., Rev. John Wilson, D.D. F.S.A. President of Trinity College, Oxford, and Local Secretary for Oxfordshire, Rev. A. Hume, LL.D. F.S.A. C. S. Perceval, Esq. Dir.S.A., Ll. Jewitt, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Derbyshire, G. T. Lomax, Esq. of Lichfield, and Thomas North, Esq. Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, have been the principal.

[a] On the 20th of June, 1864, a curious Runic Calendar was exhibited before this Society. The exhibition is announced in the Archæologia, vol. XXXI. p. 483, as "a Runic Almanac, or Staffordshire Clogg book." This calendar belongs to Mr. William Crafter, of Gravesend. It was purchased more than fifty years ago at the sale of General Harris's collection of antiquities at Canterbury. By the politeness of its owner, who himself never considered it a Clogg, I am permitted to exhibit it again. The calendar is carefully sculptured on eleven short thin staves of wood, less than five inches in length. This wood is box. A leathern thong threaded through the two holes in each leaf fastens the whole together, and allows the leaves to be opened like those of an old-fashioned pamphlet. This calendar, in its mode of construction, exactly resembles that at Bologna. The leaves are numbered at the ends from one to eleven. It is strictly a pocket almanac. The first of January is marked by a large cross, with a radiation above it, and, as usual in the Runic Calendars, the week commences with Fé, for Monday. In the same manner, as to confounding the two classes of instruments, Mr. John Harland, F.S.A. designates his memoir in "The Reliquary" upon Staffordshire Cloggs, "On Clog Almanacks, or Rune-Stocks."

APPENDIX.

On an Anglo-Saxon Fibula in the Museum of the Society.

May 7th, 1863. Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., F.S.A., exhibited and presented to the Society certain objects of the Anglo-Saxon period, then recently obtained by him in the course of excavations on the line and by the side of the Watling Street, where it crosses the parish of Norton, near Daventry. These objects were :—

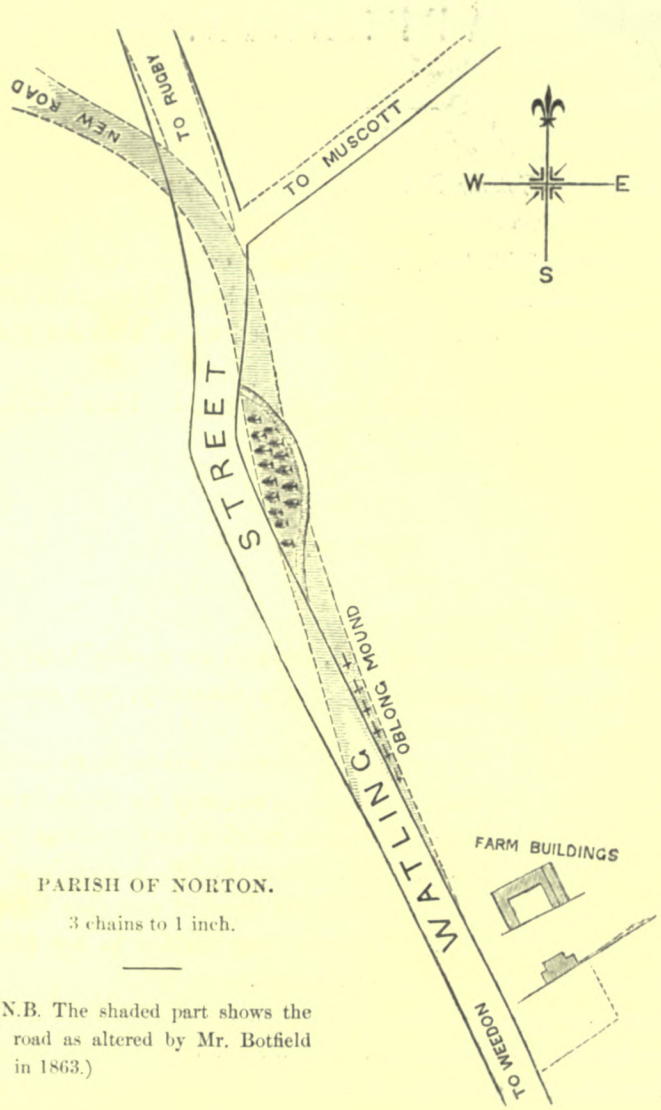
1. Fibula, cruciform, large and fine, of gilt metal. Plate XXII.
2. Fibula, dish-shaped.
3. Fibula, disc-shaped.
4. Two rings of bronze.
5. Three hooks of iron, perhaps keys.
6. Knife of iron.
7. Spindle-whorl of bone.

Mr. Botfield died in the course of the year, and, through an oversight, no record either of the exhibition and present, or of the circumstances of the discovery, was entered on the Minutes of the Society, or recorded in the Proceedings.

Attention having been called to this omission, application was made to JOHN THURNAM, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., to whom Mr. Botfield had given not only the skulls, in company with which these objects were found, but also some memoranda relative to the discovery, for a note on the subject. With the assistance of the Rev. T. C. Thornton, Mr. Botfield's neighbour at Norton, and of his brother the Rev. W. Thornton, who kindly supplied materials for the skeleton plan of the ground, which is given overleaf, Dr. Thurnam was enabled to lay before the Society, on November 28th, 1867, the following account of the find:—

" Up to about twelve years ago, Mr. Thornton informs me, that in the field on his brother's property, now diminished by the deviation made in the line of the Watling Street, there was a low oblong mound by the side of the hedge to the east of the road, which seems to have been about forty or fifty yards long, two or three yards wide, and about a yard high. It looked little different from an ordinary hedge-mound, and as it prevented the plough being carried up to the hedge a labourer was ordered to level it. This was in the year 1855 or 1856. In the course of this operation some graves were discovered, and five or six skeletons were exhumed. With them were some formless bits of metal and one rude bead of red amber. The graves were in a single line, and occupied a space of about thirty yards in length, and it is believed that they lay north and south with the heads to the south. The human remains were reinterred together on the spot. The graves are described as having been six feet below the crown of the Watling Street, and about twenty-five feet from the centre of that road, just outside its original embankment. The

subsoil here is a deep bed of gravel of 'alluvial drift,' so that the exact point of junction of the ancient road and the adjacent land cannot easily be made out.



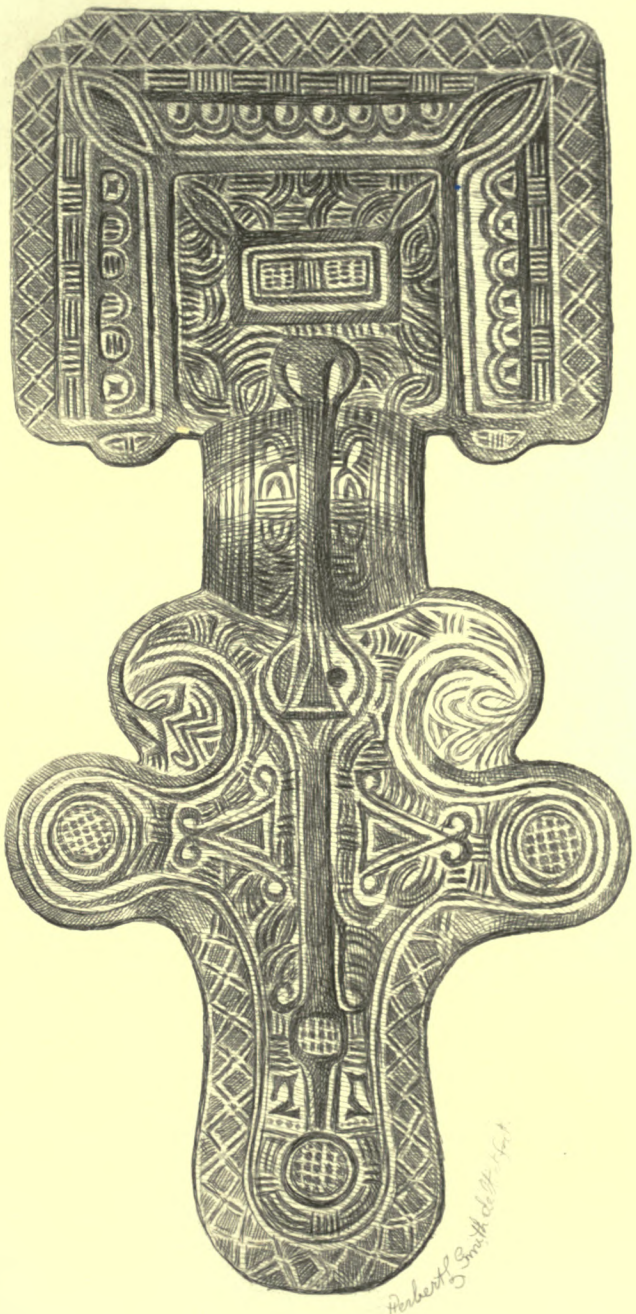
PARISH OF NORTON.

3 chains to 1 inch.

(N.B. The shaded part shows the road as altered by Mr. Botfield in 1863.)

"As is seen in the Ordnance and other maps of Northamptonshire, the Watling Street near Norton, by the side of this levelled mound, and somewhat further to the north, made an awkward bend towards the west. It was to obviate this, and in connexion with making a good approach to his residence at Norton Hall, that Mr. Botfield obtained the permission of his neighbour, Mr. Thornton, over whose home farm the road passed, to alter the course of the road in this situation. Thus, for the space of two hundred yards, the hedge on the eastern side of Watling Street was cut down, the bank levelled, and the 'Street' itself carried over the site of the ancient

FIBULA FROM NORTON.



ACTUAL SIZE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1868.

grave-mound. In doing this the workmen came upon the bones which had been exhumed eight years previously, and also met with at least one grave not before exposed. It was from this grave, or graves, that the objects presented to the Society in 1863 were obtained.

"The skulls and some other osseous remains sent to me were those of five or six persons, of whom one or two were perhaps men, the others women, or children probably of the female sex. All the crania were dolichocephalic. The four which remain in my Collection (Nos. 168-171), have a 'cephalic-index' (*breadth-index*), varying from ·71 to ·75—average ·73[3]; and a *height-index*, varying from ·70 to ·75—average ·72[5]. The lower jaw of one adult, probably male, skull (No. 169), and that of one girl (No. 170), are deeply stained of a bright green colour, no doubt derived from the brazen fibulæ with which the dress in which the bodies had been interred was fastened. It was probably with these two skulls that the objects presented by Mr. Botfield were found.[a]

"Two of the skulls (Nos. 168, 170, especially the latter) present in a striking degree that warped and twisted form caused by moisture and pressure of the earth, to which, many years ago, I gave the name of *posthumous distortion*, and which, in the case of the skulls exhumed some years since at Wroxeter, so much perplexed several distinguished antiquaries.

"This Anglo-Saxon grave-mound of Norton presents no resemblance to the considerable cemetery, also of the Anglo-Saxon period, which rewarded the exploration of Sir Henry Dryden, at Barton Furlong, near Marston St. Lawrence, in the same county.[b] Much more analogous was the discovery in 1824 of Anglo-Saxon graves, twenty miles further north, in the very centre of the Watling Street, near Bensford Bridge, on the borders of Leicestershire and Warwickshire. The graves, in this instance, were much more numerous than at Norton, and were very prolific in remains, which have been described by M. H. Bloxam, Esq. F.S.A.[c] These two instances seem to prove that one situation selected by the Anglo-Saxons for the graves of their dead was the skirts and summits of the paved roads of their immediate predecessors, the Romans."

[a] As the late Hon. R. C. Neville's researches at Linton Heath seem to show, the large cruciform fibulæ were worn by both sexes. *Arch. Journ.* 1854, xi. p. 95-115. Their use by women also appeared probable from the discoveries in the mound near Driffield, Yorkshire. See the writer's paper in Mr. J. T. Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 37.

[b] *Archæologia*, xxxiii. p. 326.

[c] *Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of Great Britain*, 1834, p. 44, and *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 56. In this last unpublished work Mr. Bloxam gives numerous wood-cuts of the objects found in the graves, which in the first instance, and for some time afterwards, he supposed to be "Romano-British."

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Errata.

Page 332, line 22. *For* Lugwig *read* Ludwig.
Page 345, note ‡, line 4. *For* seed *read* reed.

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